

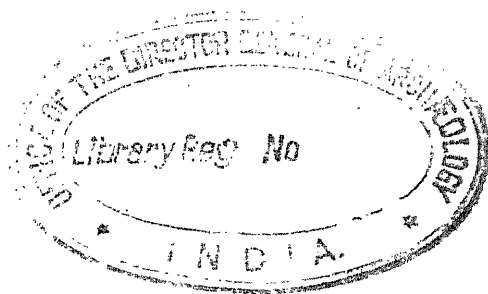
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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
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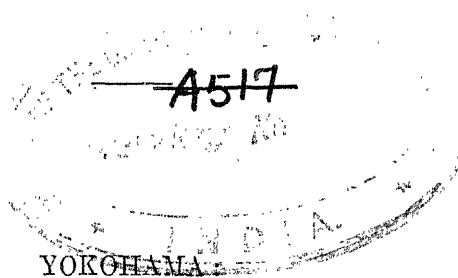
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OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY  
OF JAPAN.

23028

891.05  
T. A. S. J.

VOL. XXI.



R. MEIKLEJOHN & Co., No 49.

1893.



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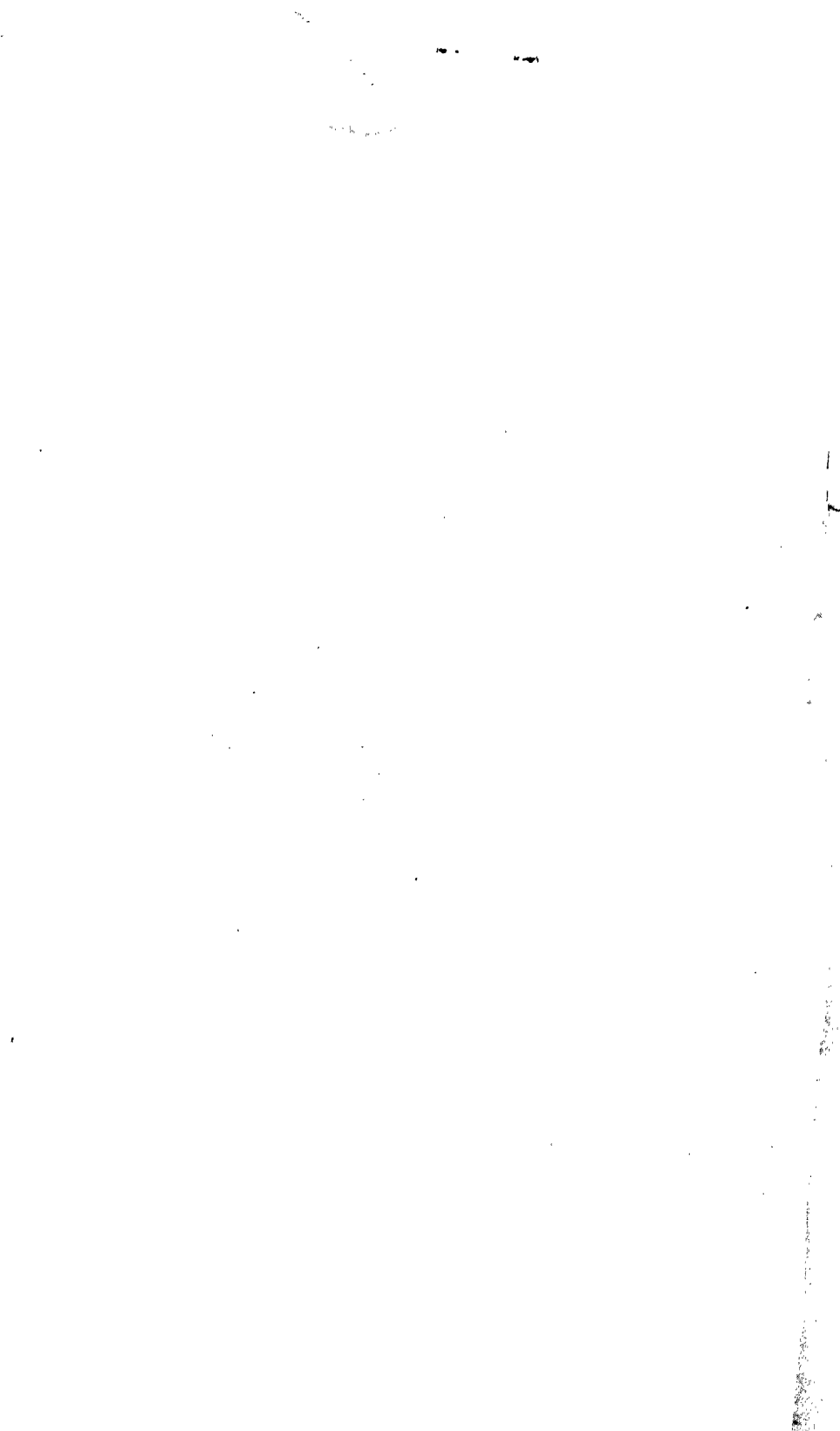
**Date**.....25/2/57.....

**Call No.**.....891.05/T.A.S.-J.....

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## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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### MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

Meeting of October 12th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's rooms, No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, October 12th, 1892, at 4 p.m.; the Rev. George William Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The election of J. T. Swift, Esq., of Tokyo, and Rev. J. L. Patton, of Mayelashi, to membership in the Society, was reported by the Corresponding Secretary.

PROFESSOR MILNE brought forward and, after some explanatory remarks, moved his amendment to the sixth Article of the Constitution of the Society, as proposed by him at the last General Meeting. Mr. White seconded the motion, and, after remarks in favor of the amendment by Dr. Divers and Mr. Tyng, the motion was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. WIGMORE's "Special Report on Materials for the Study of Private Law in Old Japan" was taken as read.

The Chairman then called on the Librarian, Mr. White, who in the absence of the author read extracts from a paper on "Date Masamune", by C. Meriwether, Esq.

The Chairman, with Dr. Divers, Mr. White and Mr. Perin, took part in the brief discussion which followed. Some photographs illustrative of the paper were then handed about for inspection.

The Chairman thanked the author in the name of the Society for his valuable contribution, and the meeting then adjourned.

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Meeting of February 15th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the

rooms of the Society, No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, February 15th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Rev. George William Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

From the Council the Corresponding Secretary reported the election of the following members:—on November 2nd, 1892, Dr. J. C. Hepburn, as an honorary member;—on December 7th, 1892, Rev. Otis Cary, Rev. J. A. B. Scherer and Prof. Edmund Buckley as ordinary members, and Sir James Lyall, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G. as a life member; on February 8th, 1893, Dr. K. Florenz and Rev. R. A. Thomson as ordinary members and A. Chion, Esq., as a life member; and on February 15th, 1893, the Rev. John Wier as an ordinary member.

Thereafter a paper was read by Percival Lowell, Esq., on "Esoteric Shintōism."

In the discussion which followed this interesting paper Mr. W. B. Mason said that he had heard of walking over fire, but as a Buddhistic ceremony. The Chairman said that he had heard of such phenomena as connected with Ryōbu-Shintō, not with pure Shintō. Mr. Lowell said that in another paper he would give an explanation of the connection of these phenomena with Buddhism.

The Chairman in the name of the Society thanked Mr. Lowell for his valuable contribution to its Transactions. A paper by Mr. E. H. Parker, entitled "Touching Burmese, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean," was taken as read.

The meeting then adjourned.

---

#### Meeting of March 8th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Society at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, March 8th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Vice-President, Rev. George William Knox, D. D., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A paper entitled "Esoteric Shintōism—Part Second," was then read by its author, Percival Lowell, Esq. This was a continuation of the paper read by the same author before the Society, February 15th, 1893.

In the discussion which followed this suggestive paper the Rev. Dr. Greene spoke of a conversation with one of his servants who

had told him of a custom in one district of the province of Ise for the men at the ages of 17, 25 and 42 years to go to the temple for special religious services in which the worshipper was put into some such trance as Mr. Lowell had described.

Mr. CLAY McCauley questioned whether there were more instances of cataleptic conditions in Japan than elsewhere and spoke of cases within his own observation in America which illustrated a similar mental state. He considered these phenomena merely an abnormal development of our own natural faculties and regarded Mr. Lowell's contributions to this subject as of much importance. He looked for great gain from the better knowledge of these little understood endowments of the human mind.

Mr. MILNE asked Mr. Lowell if he were quite sure of the genuineness of the manifestations which he had described, and if he had really tested the physical sensibility of Shintō occultists when in a state of trance by running pins into them. Mr. Lowell replied that there was no mistake about it, and he had chosen the body of the subject between the shoulders as the most sensitive part for the test. No sign of feeling had been shown though he ran the pin repeatedly into the flesh.

Mr. Lowell controverted Mr. McCauley's view that there was as much of the sort of thing described in the paper to be found in America as in Japan. He also differed in his estimate of the value of the results to flow from a knowledge of such conditions. To him they seemed like atavism.

Messrs. Liscomb, Mason and White also took part in the discussion and asked questions which Mr. Lowell answered, giving an illustration of the finger charms and chant referred to in the paper.

The Chairman expressed his interest in the subject, and in conveying the thanks of the meeting and the Society to the author for his interesting contribution the hope was expressed that Mr. Lowell would follow up what he had already written by yet other papers.

The meeting then adjourned.

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Meeting of April 12th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Society, No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, April 12th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Rev. George William Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was reported from the Council that the Rev. Clay McCauley had resigned his office as Corresponding Secretary on account of his approaching departure for America, and J. H. Longford, Esq., had been elected to the office in his room.

It was also announced that Dr. K. Miyabe, of Sapporo, had been elected as an ordinary member.

Mr. S. TSUDA, of Tokyo, exhibited to the meeting a machine invented and used by Inō Chukey, the eminent Japanese surveyor and cartographer of nearly one hundred years ago, about whom a paper by Dr. Cargill G. Knott was published in Volume XVI, part II, at page 193, of the Transactions of the Society. This machine had been found by Mr. Tsuda in the possession of a descendant of Inō Chukey. It was so made as to measure and register the distance over which it might be drawn up to 100,000 *ken*; and at the same time, if taken backward, the machine would subtract the distance so retravelled.

Dr. Divers said that he had supposed all of Inō's instruments were enclosed in his monument erected not many years ago in Tōkyō. Mr. Milne remarked that he had understood that it was the compass only which had been so enclosed. The Chairman returned the thanks of the Society to Mr. Tsuda for his interesting contribution to the meeting. Mr. Tsuda's remarks were translated by his son.

A paper on "Ainu Economic Plants," written by Rev. John Batchelor and Dr. K. Miyabe was then presented and extracts therefrom were read in the absence of the authors by Mr. Milne, who supplemented what he read by remarks from his own observations in Hokkaidō.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Tsuda, Dr. Divers, the Chairman, and Dr. Seymour bore a part.

The Chairman extended the thanks of the Society to the authors for their valuable paper and to Mr. Milne for reading it.

The meeting then adjourned.

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#### Meeting of May 17th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in its rooms at No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, May 17th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Vice-President, Rev. George William Knox, D.D., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Percival Lowell, who read a paper on "Pilgrimages and the Pilgrim Clubs." The author prefaced his paper by the remark that it was a part of the same series as the two preceding papers already read by him before the Society during this session.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Divers asked if there were not records of pilgrimages and god-possession between the time of the Kojiki and the Meiji era, to which Mr. Lowell replied that there were isolated cases, but he thought that Buddhism had to be removed by the purification of Shintō, which took place in the Meiji era, before such phenomena could attain their present importance. He was quite clear that they were purely Japanese.

The Chairman thought it might be necessary to know more about China before one could be sure as to this last point. He also questioned whether the phenomena were properly called esoteric, seeing the openness of their performance. Mr. Lowell's answer was that the methods of producing the result were guarded with secrecy.

After thanking the author for his interesting paper, the Chairman declared the meeting adjourned.

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## ANNUAL MEETING.

June 14th, 1893.

The Annual General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Society at No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, June 14th, 1893, at 4 p.m., with the Vice-President, Rev. George William Knox, D.D., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Dr. Augustus Wood had been elected to membership in the Society.

Dr. DIVERS gave notice of a motion to be voted on at the next General Meeting by which Article XII of the Constitution would be so amended as to change the time of Annual Meeting from June to November.



Dr. SEYMOUR gave the like notice of a motion to amend Article II of the Constitution so as to require from non-resident members a life composition payment of \$20, instead of \$16, as at present.

The Chairman announced that Professor Chamberlain was prevented by illness from being present, but that Mr. Longford had kindly consented to read the paper in the author's absence. Mr. Longford then read Professor Chamberlain's paper on "The Manners and Customs of the Loochooans."

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the meeting to the author for his very interesting and valuable contribution and to Mr. Longford for his kindness in reading it.

A recess of ten minutes was then taken to enable the large audience to inspect the many objects illustrating the paper which the writer had brought from the Loochoo Islands, and sent to the meeting.

After the recess the Council's Annual Report for the Session just closing and the Treasurer's Statement of Account with the Society for the year were read; and upon motion were duly accepted and adopted.

They were as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN FOR  
THE SESSION, OCTOBER 1892 TO JUNE 1893.

The Session just closing is one in which the Society has, without special incident, prosperously carried forward its usual work.

Six General Meetings have been held during the year, one each in October, March, April, May and June. The number of such meetings is the same as last year, and they have been well attended and interesting. A list of the papers read is appended as usual.

The accessions to membership in the Society for the year number fourteen, of whom three are life members; and honorary membership was conferred upon Dr. J. C. Hepburn.

In the death of Major-General H. S. Palmer the Society lost a valued member who had been a recent contributor to its Transactions. Five members have resigned during the year, and in other ways the roll of membership has been further depleted by seven names. At present there are fourteen honorary members, seventy-one life members, and one hundred and twelve ordinary members, making a total membership of 197.

Under the Amendment to the Constitution passed October 12th, 1892, by which resident members are permitted to compound their payments, twenty-six of such members have taken advantage of the opportunity thus given them to become life members of the Society. The aggregate of payments made by them under this rule amounts to \$190.50.

The finances of the Society are in a prosperous condition, as will be seen from the Treasurer's Report, which forms an appendix hereto. For printing, according to the accounts herewith submitted, the Society has expended during this session more than twice as much as was given to that object last year; and yet the present balance shows a decrease of some \$72 only as compared with the balance of 1892. Since May 31st last, however, other heavy bills for printing have been paid, thus materially decreasing the balance now in hand. The Society cannot of course continue to make so liberal a return in the way of printed matter to its members unless large permanent additions can be made to its regular sources of income. There have been some changes in the officers and Council during the session. Mr. Wyckoff asked to be relieved of his duties as Treasurer, and Dr. Seymour, having returned to Japan at the time, was invited to resume that office. Messrs. J. H. Wigmore, a Councillor, J. K. Goodrich, the Recording Secretary for Yokohama, and Clay MacCauley, the Corresponding Secretary, resigned from the Council by reason of departure from Japan. Mr. Wyckoff was elected to the Council in the room of Mr. Wigmore; Mr. Longford was made Corresponding Secretary in place of Mr. MacCauley, and the position of Recording Secretary for Yokohama, falling vacant near the end of the session, has been left unfilled till this meeting. Mr. Liscomb was elected to the Council to fill a vacancy.

The Council, while expressing their thanks for papers already received as well as for those of which they have the promise, desire to encourage yet other members to become contributors to the Transactions of the Society. It may not be amiss to repeat that papers need not be long or exhaustive in order to be acceptable.

The Society's Transactions continue to have a good sale, as will be seen from the accounts. The amount received during the present year is \$323.31; and while this is less than the receipts from the same source in the last session, it must be borne in mind that during that time the receipts were abnormally large because of long outstanding arrears which were then collected from London agents.

A statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society is made in an appendix to this report. The value of this stock at list prices is \$14,194.00.

Tōkyō, June 14th, 1893.

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#### APPENDIX A.

##### LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1892-93.

"Report by the Editor on Materials for the study of Private Law in Old Japan," by J. H. Wigmore, Esq.

"Date Masamune," by C. Meriwether, Esq.

"Esoteric Shintōism," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"Touching Burmese, Japanese, Chinese and Korean," by E. H. Parker, Esq.

"Esoteric Shintōism, Part Second," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"Ainu Economic Plants," by Rev John Batchelor and Dr. K. Miyabe.

"Pilgrimages and the Pilgrim Clubs," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"On the Manners and Customs of the Loochooans," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.,

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#### APPENDIX B.

##### THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31st, 1893.

##### DR.

To Balance from Last Year	.. .. .	\$ 2,318.435
To Entrance Fees	.. .. .	75.000
To Yearly Subscriptions	.. .. .	587.000
To Non-resident Life Subscriptions	.. .. .	96.750
To Resident Members Life Commutation Subscriptions		190.500
To Sale of Transactions	.. .. .	323.310
To Interest at Bank	{ On fixed deposit 61.25 } { On current ac't. 15.47 }	.. 76.720
		<hr/> \$ 3,667.715

## CR.

By Messrs. Meiklejohn & Co. for Printing .. .. .	\$ 1,176.250
By Officers of Council for Postage, Expressage etc. ..	78.405
By Mr. Ushiba for Translation .. .. .	25.000
By Mr. MacArthur for Freight .. .. .	8.750
By Seishibunsha for Printing .. .. .	.500
By Rent of No. 17 Tsukiji.. .. .	100.000
By Insurance of Library and Transactions .. .. .	32.500
	<hr/>
	\$ 1,421.405
Balance	
Cash in hands of H. & S. B. Cor. \$887.720 }	
On Fixed Deposit 1,286.250 }	2,246.310
Cash in hands of Treasurer 72.340 }	<hr/>
	\$ 3,667.715
	<hr/>

Audited with Vouchers and found correct.

YEEND DUER, }  
W. B. MASON, } Auditors.

## APPENDIX C.

## LIST OF EXCHANGES.

- Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia ; Proceedings.  
 “ “ Sciences of Finland (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ).  
 Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India ; Journal.  
 American Association for the Advancement of Science.  
 “ Geographical Society, New York ; Bulletin and Journal.  
 “ Oriental Society, New Haven ; Journal.  
 Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.  
 Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.  
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien ; Mittheilungen.  
 Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Journal and Proceedings.  
 Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.  
 “ Museum, Sydney.  
 Bataviasch Genootschap ; Notulen. Tijdschrift. Verhandlungen.  
 Boston Society of Natural History ; Proceedings.  
 Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Report ; Washington.  
 “ “ Education. Circulars of Information ; Washington.

- California Academy of Sciences.  
 " State Mining Bureau ; Report.  
 Canadian Institute, Toronto ; Proceedings and Report.  
 China Review ; Hongkong.  
 Chinese Recorder ; Shanghai.  
 Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances, Saigon.  
 Cosmos ; di Guido Cora, Turin.  
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,  
 Tôkyô : Mittheilungen.  
 Geological Survey of India ; Records.  
 Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.  
 Handelsmuseum, Wien.  
 Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology ; Bulletin,  
 Papers, etc.  
 Imperial Observatory, Rio Janeiro.  
 Imperial Russian Geographical Society ; Bulletin and Report.  
 " Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow) Section  
 of Anthropology and Ethnography ; Transactions.  
 Imperial University of Japan, College of Science ; Journal.  
 Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama,  
 Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.  
 Journal Asiatique, Paris.  
 Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der  
 Naturforscher ; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.  
 Musée Guimet, Lyons ; Annales et Revue, etc.  
 Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.  
 Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Tacubaya, Anuario, Mexico.  
 " Meteorologico, Monte Video.  
 Ornithologischer Verein in Wien, Mittheilungen.  
 Peking Oriental Society ; Transactions.  
 Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.  
 " " " Bombay Branch ; Journal.  
 " " " Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.  
 " " " China Branch ; Journal.  
 " " " Straits Branch ; Journal.  
 " Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.  
 " Geographical Society ; Proceedings.  
 " " " New South Wales Branch.  
 " Society, London ; Proceedings.  
 " " of Edinburgh ; Proceedings.  
 " " New South Wales.  
 " " Tasmania.

Royal Society of Queensland.

Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.; Report, etc.

Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid; Boletín.

“ de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletín, Lisbon.

Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.

“ de Géographie; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances,  
Paris.

“ des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.

“ d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bulletins et Mémoires.

“ d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.

Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.

Sydney, Council of Education, Report.

University of Toronto.

United States Geological Survey.

“ “ Department of Agriculture.

#### APPENDIX D.

##### STATEMENT OF THE STOCK OF TRANSACTIONS POSSESSED BY THE SOCIETY.

NUMBER IN STOCK.	PARTS.	PRICE.
130 . Vol. I.	single part (reprinted) . . . .	\$1.50
124 . Vol. II.	single part (reprinted) . . . .	2.00
173 . Vol. III.	Part 1 (reprinted) . . . .	1.50
217 . “	Part 2 (reprinted) . . . .	1.50
120 . “	Appendix (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
219 . Vol. IV.	single part (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
217 . Vol. V.	Part 1 (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
240 . “	“ 2 (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
223 . Vol. VI.	Part 1 (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
262 . “	“ 2 (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
264 . “	“ 3 (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
253 . Vol. VII.	Part 1 (reprinted) . . . .	1.00
258 . “	“ 2 (reprinted) . . . .	50

NUMBER IN STOCK.	PARTS.	PRICE.
275 . Vol. VII.	Part 3 (reprinted) . . . . .	\$1.00
180 . " "	" 4 (reprinted) . . . . .	1.50
166 . Vol. VIII.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
78 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.50
79 . " "	" 3 . . . . .	2.00
90 . " "	" 4 . . . . .	1.00
72 . Vol. IX.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
68 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.50
115 . " "	" 3 . . . . .	1.00
86 . Vol. X.	Part 1 . . . . .	2.00
109 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.50
254 . " "	Supplement. . . . .	4.00
106 . Vol. XI.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
99 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.50
319 . Vol. XII.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.00
134 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.00
111 . " "	" 3 . . . . .	1.00
70 . " "	" 4 . . . . .	2.00
69 . Vol. XIII.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.00
138 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.00
83 . Vol. XIV.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
122 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	2.00
112 . Vol. XV.	Part 1 . . . . .	2.00
83 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	50
112 . Vol. XVI.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
165 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.00
205 . " "	" 3 . . . . .	1.00
210 . Vol. XVII.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
105 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	2.50
175 . Vol. XVIII.	Part 1 . . . . .	1.50
252 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.50
277 . Vol. XIX.	Part 1 . . . . .	2.50
291 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	3.00
256 . " "	" 3 . . . . .	1.50
149 . Vol. XX.	Part 1 . . . . .	2.00
270 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.00
285 . " "	Supp. Pt. 1 . . . . .	2.00
269 . " "	" 2 . . . . .	1.00
299 . " "	" 3 . . . . .	4.00
243 . " "	" 5 . . . . .	1.00

The following officers and councillors for the ensuing year were then elected :—

PRESIDENT—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D.; James Troup, Esq.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—J. H. Longford, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARIES—Alexander Tison, Esq.; W. J. S. Shand, Esq.

TREASURER—Dr. J. N. Seymour.

LIBRARIAN—Rev. W. J. White.

---

COUNCILLORS.

Dr. E. Divers.

M. N. Wyckoff, Esq.

Rev. W. I. Lawrance.

Garrett Droppers, Esq.

Rev. T. M. MacNair.

W. B. Mason, Esq.

R. Masujima, Esq.

J. Milne, Esq.

A. B. Walford, Esq.

W. H. Stone, Esq.

This concluded the business of the meeting, which then adjourned.



## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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### HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Alcock, K.C.B., Sir Rutherford, Athenæum Club, London, England.  
Arnold, K.C.S.I., Sir Edwin, c/o Daily Telegraph Office, London, England.  
Aston, C.M.G., W. G., Woodlands, Seaton, Devon, England.  
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.  
Edkins, D.D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai.  
Franks, A. W., c/o Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, E. C., England.  
Hannen, N. J., H. B. M. Consul General, Shanghai.  
Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., 384 Williams Street, East Orange, New Jersey, U. S. A.  
Norkenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm.  
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.  
Satow, C.M.G., Ernest M., British Legation, Tangier.  
Wade, K.C.B., Sir Thomas F., Cambridge, England.  
Whitney, Prof. W. D., New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
- 

### LIFE MEMBERS.

- Amerman, D.D., Rev James L., Spring Valley, New York, U. S. A.  
Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., 2 Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London.  
Atkinson, B.Sc., R.W., Cardiff, Wales.  
Bisset, F.L.S., J.  
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Bolton, Lake George, New York.  
Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.

- Brauns, Professor Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.  
Brinkley, R.A., Capt. F., Nagatacho, Tōkyō.  
Brown, Capt. A.R., Central Chambers, 109 Hope Street, Glasgow.  
Carey, Rev. Otis, Karasumaru, Kyoto.  
Carson, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.  
Center, Alex., Pacific Mail Office, San Francisco.  
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Ruston Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire.  
Clement, E.W., 5461 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.  
Conder, J., 13 Nishi Konyacho, Kyobashi, Tōkyō.  
Cooper, LL.D., C. J., Hampton Lodge, Stourton near Stourbridge, Staffordshire, England.  
Deas, F. W., 12 Magdala Place, Edinburgh.  
Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.  
Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.  
Dixon, F.R.S.E., J. M., 2706 Marcus Avenue, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.  
Dixon, M.A., Rev. William Gray, Warrnambooh, Victoria, Australia.  
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THE  
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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*Revised October 12th, 1893.*

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# THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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*Revised October 12th, 1893.*

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## NAME AND OBJECTS.

- Art. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
- Art. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- Art. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

## MEMBERSHIP.

- Art. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.
- Art. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.
- Art VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars gold or three guineas.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Any person joining the Society can become a Life Member by the payment of Fifty Dollars; or any person already a member can become a Life Member by

the payment of Fifty Dollars, less Two Dollars and Fifty Cents for each year in which he has been an Ordinary Member.

- Art. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

- Art. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

## OFFICERS.

- Art. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.

Two Vice-Presidents.

A Corresponding Secretary.

Two Recording Secretaries.

A Treasurer.

A Librarian.

## COUNCIL.

- Art. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

## MEETINGS.

- Art. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

- Art. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in November, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

- XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence

of the President and Vice-Presidents, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

Art. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

## ELECTIONS.

Art. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of Council and balloted for the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

Art. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

Art. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

## PUBLICATION.

Art. XVIII. The published Transaction of the Society shall contain:—

- (1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon;
- (2) The Minutes of the General Meetings;
- (3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Account presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.

Art. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author, and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.

Art. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.

Art. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

- Art. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

### MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

- Art XXIII The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution ; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

### AMENDMENTS.

- Art. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members, present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

## BY-LAWS.

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### GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.
- Art. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.
- Art. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given, when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of Meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- Art. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be :—
- (1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;
  - (2) Communications from the Council;
  - (3) Miscellaneous Business;
  - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.
- The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.
- At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters :—
- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

- (6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

### MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

- VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4 p.m. on the First Wednesday of each month.
- VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

- VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting;
  - (2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,  
of the Publication Committee,  
of the Treasurer,  
of the Librarian,  
and of Special Committees;
  - (3) The Election of Members;
  - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society;
  - (5) Miscellaneous Business;
  - (6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society;
  - (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

### PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

- IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

## DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society ;
2. Arrange for and issue notices of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and General Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent ;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws ;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue ;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

## RECORDING SECRETARIES.

XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.



## DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII The Recording Secretary shall :—

1. Keep Minutes of General and Council Meetings ;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama ;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book ;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
6. Act on the Publication Committee ;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society ;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceeding at General Meeting to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

## DUTIES OF TREASURER.

XIII. The Treasurer shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council ;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
4. Notify new Members of the amount of entrance fee and subscriptions then due ;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June ; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society ;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription ;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year ; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

## DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

### XIV. The Librarian shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books ;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books ;
3. Send Copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges ;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business ;
5. Arrange, under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals ;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report ;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or, if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

### LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

- Art. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17 Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.
- Art. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

### SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

- Art. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.
- Art. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.





Taken from Wooden Image of Date in Matsushima Temple.

A SKETCH OF  
THE LIFE OF DATE MASAMUNE  
AND AN ACCOUNT OF  
HIS EMBASSY TO ROME.

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BY

C. MERIWETHER.



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## PREFACE.

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About three centuries ago was a period in Japanese history of special interest to Europeans, the period when Japan came in contact with the western world. Japanese desire for western religion and civilisation seemed to reach its culmination in the despatch of two embassies to Europe, one from southern Japan, and one from northern Japan. The daimio who sent the one from northern Japan was a man of unusual force of character. This paper attempts to give a sketch of his life and the history of his embassy.

In the preparation the author received much kind assistance. He is under obligation to Mr. Fumihiko Otsuki, Mr. Kohan Sazawa, Mr. Kiyonobu Hasekura, Mr. Tsutomu Iikawa, and Mr. Jun Matsukura of Sendai; to Professors Hiranuma, Ogawa, Inouye, Okada, and Suganuma of Sendai; to Professors A. Tison, Ludwig Riess, J. H. Wigmore, and B. H. Chamberlain of Tokyo; to Count Date, who kindly allowed the author to view the objects brought from Rome, and Mr. Sakuname, who was helpful with explanations and suggestions; to Mr. Shigeno Auyeki and Mr. Masayuki Okada of the Historical Bureau; to Bishop A. Berlioz, L'Abbe F. Everard, and Paulin Vigroux, Vicaire-General, and to many others who aided in every way.

The translation from Italian into English was made by Professor Emilio Binda, who shows a thorough command of English in rendering from his native tongue into that language.

The translations from Japanese were made by Mr. T. Oishi, Mr. T. Kambe, and Mr. J. Tadokoro. Special thanks are due to Mr. R. Ishikawa, a member of an old Samurai family of the Date fief, for activity and intelligence in seeking out sources of information.

The shortcomings of investigating through the aid of translations are apparent, and in spite of the greatest care, it is inevitable that mistakes of names, dates, and even statement of important facts should occur. Such errors are left to the charity of that very small number of English speaking persons acquainted with the Japanese language.

Tōkyō, August, 1892.

## PART I.

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### LIFE OF DATE MASAMUNE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

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##### EARLY LIFE AND CONQUESTS.

The most authentic published account of the Date family gives the following as the true origin of the family :—  
“There lived a celebrated person called Taishokuwan Fujiwara no Kamatari, in Japan, many hundred years ago. One of his sons in the third generation was called Uona, and a descendant of the twelfth generation from Uona was called Fujiwara no Mitsutaka, and the younger brother of Mitsutaka was named Nakamura Hitachi-no Suke Tomomune. This Tomomune was the founder of the family.” Probably this sententious statement, though made about an exceedingly dim and remote past, is as near the truth as the average of genealogies reaching to such a distance. The family chronicler would naturally have been tempted to give some special mark to the ancestor that was contemporary with Yoritomo, one of the great heroes of Japan in the twelfth century. It is related of

Tomomune that he was a follower of Yoritomo, and the family received a grant of territory from Yoritomo. In fact this ruling power had entrusted the conduct of a war to the head of the Date family, and for the rapid overthrow of a hostile force, Yoritomo bestowed as a mark of favor a valuable famous sword.

Of the successive heads of the family various characteristics are given. One of the most striking of these to an observer of the present race of Japanese is the extreme height of one of them in the 18th century. He reached the great altitude of six feet and two inches, and was also a strict devotee, making many images during his life and placing them at the foot of a sacred mountain.

All adherents also of the doctrine of heredity as ordinarily received could find some comfort in the transmission of the poetical faculty. This facility of versification is recounted of several, and, as we shall see later, Date Masamune himself was an adept in metrical expression. Of the ninth descendant from Tomomune, pleasant incidents are told of his success in invoking the muse—and very practical success at that.

On one occasion he was leading his men against the savages, and while pursuing them, his army was enveloped in a dense fog. They had to grope their way cautiously along, and they were thrown into great fear by loud noises which they took to be the rallying shouts of their foes hidden around them, and ready to fall on them. In the midst of the alarm, which was fast becoming a panic, the leader under the influence of a rhyming spell sat unmoved and quietly composed a couplet in which the fog on the mountains is declared to be the sea, and the sound of the wind like the beat of the waves. The flowing melody possibly calmed, while plain prose might have been unnoticed. Apprehensions were allayed, and the commander's astuteness was fully recognised when the mist was blown aside, and the yells of concealed hostiles were proved to be

the roaring of a cataract. Again during the following winter, when his band at one time refused to brave the cold blasts, and snow and ice, he invigorated them by an appeal in melodious numbers. His fame as a poetiser reached the ears of the Emperor at Kyoto, and his most effective productions were gathered and preserved in the collections of the imperial household.

By the end of the 14th century the family had risen to some position in the land, as they attracted the notice of the Shogun, who gave them both titles and presents.

The history is not so meager now when the story comes to Terumune, the sixteenth descendant, and father of the greatest link of the whole line, Date Masamune. It was an age of upheaval and disorder and "there were battles constantly." Terumune at first confined himself to his castle and cultivated literature and practised fencing. But he was roused from his scholarly seclusion and manly accomplishments by a treason hatched against him, and he was forced to take the field. His vassal Munetoki plotted to kill him, but a faithful retainer told Terumune of the danger, and advised him to lay a counter plot. "Your vassal Kagetsuna is faithful and powerful. If he finds out the plot he will check it. You must not do so, because this Munetoki is your vassal, and it would not be right for you to punish him, but you must turn the matter over to Kagetsuna. Let Kagetsuna's son marry Munetoki's daughter, and then Kagetsuna can learn from his own son all the details of the scheme." This was all done and the unsuspecting traitor received the spy into his family. But the young man's courage failed when he was threatened with death, and he pledged himself to work with his father-in-law though he disclosed all the case to his father, Kagetsuna. The end of it all was that Munetoki was forced to flee, while the unlucky spy and deserter was graciously allowed to kill himself.

## BIRTH AND BOYHOOD.

The son of Terumune was at first called Tojiro Masamune, afterwards known as Date Masamune. He was born in his father's dominions on the third day of the 8th month of the 10th year of the era Eiroku (September 5, 1567). When he was only eleven years old, his father wanted him to assume the headship, but the little fellow timidly declined the honor as he was doubtful of his ability, but the father urged him to try. He did so, but his unusual modesty did not win the success it deserved, possibly because of his homely appearance. He had only one eye, and was near-sighted in that. He was a melancholic temperament and preferred to mope in his room rather than play with his childish companions. The people despised him as a fool, and even his mother wanted to depose him and substitute his younger brother. But keen-eyed Kagetsuna could see through this slowness and gloominess, and he stontly held up for the lad, and predicted he would yet shine for his wit and sense, and add brightness to the name. Under his advice masters, patient and skilful, were placed over the boy, and he soon began to develop.

When older he went one day to see an image of Fudo<sup>1</sup> and expressed surprise that the god seemed so fierce. But the attendant priest explained that while it was ferocious of visage, it was gentle at heart. This impressed the lad, and he determined thenceforth to cultivate more suavity of manner.

## MARRIAGE.

In the year seven of Tensho (1579) an alliance was arranged between Date and a daughter of Tamura Kiyooki,

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<sup>1</sup> A Buddhist image meaning immovable, typifying strength, power.

of the castle of Miharu,<sup>2</sup> though some of Date's vassals were opposed to this match because Tamura was an enemy of some of the friends of the Date family. But Terumune urged that Tamura was bold and vigorous, and the alliance would strengthen the house of Date, and this view in the end prevailed.

#### CONDUCT IN TIME OF DANGER.

In the year 9 of Tensho (1581) a great rebellion broke out in the Date fief. Terumune called all his captains for consultation in the early winter. Snow was lying deep, and all agreed very discreetly that the enemy was weak and small, and there was no need of such an early move. It was like a lion going against a cat, at any rate. So in the following year, first month, they assembled again and made song and merriment. There were one hundred generals and 43,700 troops.<sup>3</sup>

Young Date was anxious to go on the expedition but an old samurai, a valiant stickler for rules of ceremony, insisted that the high lord should remain at home in the castle and form all plans there, but should not go on the field. Terumune was convinced by this argument, and young Masamune was left behind when the cohorts marched away. But he resolved to do his part in another way, and with his own circle he sought the favor of the gods in the temple of Yanagawa Hachiman.<sup>4</sup> He offered a horse and a sword, and some gold and remained three days praying fervently for the success of his father. He was also thoughtful enough to propitiate the servants of the divinities by scattering gifts among them.

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<sup>2</sup> Tamura's daimiate is now known as Yamagata.

<sup>3</sup> This is very likely a wide exaggeration and is given to illustrate the comfortable margins annalists sometimes allow themselves.

<sup>4</sup> Hachiman was the god of war. The main temple in honor of this god is near Kyoto.



When he returned to his home, one of the Generals asked for permission to retire from the war. The influence of heredity came in. Masamune, after the manner of his forefathers, answered in harmonious measures on a fan. He cuttingly said it was foolish for anyone to seek permission to withdraw in the face of the enemy, but he could do so if he chose, bearing in mind that he would ever afterwards receive only scant courtesy. Either the melodious verses or the veiled allusion induced the officer to drop the matter. Masamune received the warm commendations of his father.

Finally the war ended favorably, and to Terumune the fame of his deeds spread over the land and reached the ears of Ieyasu, who was afterwards the great Shogun, Ieyasu. Ieyasu sent a messenger to ask for a falcon, for he wrote, he had heard that falcons were both numerous and well-trained in Date's falconry. Terumune was only too happy to return a bird. After twelve months Ieyasu forwarded his thanks for the gift.

#### ACCESSION.

Terumune now formally abdicated in favor of his son, who came into active management on the 28th day of the 9th month of year 12 of Tenshō (Oct. 21, 1584)<sup>5</sup> when he was only eighteen years old. He was still diffident of his powers to watch over the large interests and addressed his father as follows:—"The world is in disorder and the strong man eats the weak, and the great man kills the small. I seriously doubt my ability to fill the place of so wise a man as yourself. The heads of neighboring provinces will *make* some pretext, since there is none in reality, and will rise up against me, and will despise me, and I do not have.

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<sup>5</sup> In Japanese style, both years are taken *inclusively* in calculating the length of time between two dates, as 1567-1584, (18 years.)

your wisdom to check them. I beg you not to lay aside you burden yet awhile, but wait until I am more experienced before putting this responsibility on me." The old warrior of course promised his services, and he was soon called upon for his counsel.

Shortly after Masamune took the reins he was drawn into conflict with Aidzu. Sadatsuna, formerly a vassal of Date, had deserted to the lord of Aidzu. But when he saw the rising fortunes of his old masters he desired to return to his first allegiance. Masamune generously welcomed him and made him head of a castle. But the fellow was probably only a spy, and with much humility declared he was not fit for such a high post, and after a time begged to be allowed to go for his family. Masamune understood the whole thing, and granted the privilege. Sadatsuna did not come again, and Masamune prepared for war. But crafty old Terumune advised him to be cautious in stirring up Aidzu, as the lord of that locality had many friends and all of them combined would be too much for Date alone. So Masamune concluded to send envoys to talk over the case. In the conference, one of Sadatsuna's representatives used some stinging words: "An apple," he said, "comes from the seed of an apple, and the son of a cat is also a cat, not a lion. The son of a weak man is also weak himself. Masamune is the son of Terumune. Terumune is known everywhere as a weak man. Masamune is also weak. For Masamune to come against us is as a small rat to rise against a large cat." It seems hardly necessary to say that the samurai blood of Masamune's messengers fairly boiled at this homely analogy. One of them drew his sword and swore to wash out the insult with blood, but his companions were more pacific, because more profound in their resentment. They retraced their steps and told all to Date. Neither father nor son was very wary now, but both were furious in their anger.

The chiefs were called into council, and after long deliberation it still seemed more discreet not to arouse the men of Aidzu.<sup>6</sup> A commission was despatched to Sadatsuna's lord, to represent to him that Sadatsuna was not only an offender against Masamune, but against society and the principles of justice, and no one should assist him. The truth of all this was admitted, and it was further promised that Sadatsuna should be left to save himself as best he could. But, as illustrating the spirit of the times, Masamune very wisely put no faith in these solemn pledges, but got ready to wage war on the whole combination around Sadatsuna. He was as good at underhanded work as his foes, and sent spies into the opposing camp to corrupt all they could. But the treachery on both sides probably neutralised itself, and Terumune's anxiety about the superior numbers of Aidzu was justified when Masamune was beaten back from the walls and the enemy sneered and said: "The army of Date is very weak, and they are only skilful in getting themselves defeated."

Masamune, possibly under the guidance of his long-headed old father, turned to intrigue and bribery and gradually filched away the strength of his foes. He sent letters, and was prodigal in his promises, offering castles and principalities, and even going so far as to tell one he might have anything he chose if he would only desert to Masamune. But finally these hidden weapons of deceit and corruption undermined the foundations of Sadatsuna, and he was driven from his castle and all his possessions came into the hands of Date.

#### THE DEATH OF TERUMUNE.

Terumune was a shrewd old fox, and was always quick to hail the rising sun. When Nobunaga was assassinated

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<sup>6</sup> The locality still bears this name, and was one of the staunchest adherents of the Shogun at the war of the Restoration a quarter of a century ago.

in 10th of Tenshō (1582), Terumune instantly gave in his adhesion to Hideyoshi. But soon after this Terumune himself met the fate of Nobunaga.

An adherent, Katayama Yoshitsugu, of some of Date's enemies wished to enter the service of Date, and with the most refreshing frankness couched his application in these words: "Formerly I served Ashima because he was powerful, and I was happy under his protection; but now he is ruined and Date is powerful, and I can be happy only under Date."<sup>7</sup>

Date was sceptical of the sincerity of this profession and, in spite of its compliment to himself, refused to admit the deserter, except on such terms as would place Hatakayama entirely within the grasp of himself. But the traitor after conferring with his own little band decided to go over to Masamune. All advised to forestall treachery by abducting either Masamune's father or Masamune's son, and all bound themselves to follow their leader to death, as it meant death anyhow, and they sealed their resolution with the merry cup.

Terumune interceded for Hatakayama, and treated him with great kindness. The hypocrite kept his plot concealed, and was invited to dine with father and son. On the following day with some attendants he went to give thanks to the old man. When he rose to go, Terumune went out with him. When the gate was opened, Hatakayama's men dashed in and occupied the castle. News was sent to Date, who came in haste. But his father cried out to him from within, that he knew his portion that day would be death, but he minded not that; he only begged that his taking off should be avenged. The attack began, and when the issue seemed against Hatakeyama, two of his soldiers struck the old man down, but all the rebels were killed.

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<sup>7</sup> Ashima was the lord of Aidzu, and of course lost prestige when his follower Sadatsuna had been worsted as related above.

## EXTENSION OF TERRITORY

In the years 13, 14, and 15 of Tenshō (1585-1587) all of Masamune's energies and resources were put forth in extending his domain. It is a long and tedious account of intrigues and treachery and bribery; of speeches and letters and dialogues; of words pledged and words broken; of conferences and deliberations; of consultations and councils of war; of advances and retreats; of marchings and counter-marchings; of sieges and sallies; of dead bodies and ghastly heads; of crushing defeats and overwhelming victories—all too detailed and lengthy for the limits of this paper, and besides of no interest to any one except a person of the most voracious appetite for antiquities. But out of all of this confused tangle of schemes and conflicts, the star of Masamune's fortune rises higher and clearer.<sup>8</sup> At the end of the period Masamune could look over the region generally known as Sendō as his, comprising Nihonmatsu and adjacent country, which had come under him partly through force and partly through peaceful submission. And also Shiomatsu and Miharu and Kubota and Koriyama.

A new castle was erected at Kubota, and at one time during this season of territorial expansion, Masamune was shut in this stronghold by a huge army that came up and almost covered all the plain around. He wanted to dart out and fall on them, but his lieutenants condemned that course as precipitate. They deemed it wiser to wait rather for the enemy to weaken themselves by assaulting the entrenchment. After their foes had failed in an attack, Masamune called a council of war. The flowing bowl freely circulated and the courage of all rose higher and

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<sup>8</sup> One or two grains of wheat might be threshed out of all the mass. In one place reference for the first time is made to the use of firearms and a consequent dismay fell on the enemy. In another place, it is stated that Masamune conferred a pension on the family of a dead warrior.

higher. But Masamune was a man of great penetration, and also of some humor. He probably was amused at some of the boasting speeches, and wanted to raise a laugh. So he called forth Shigenobu, who had vaunted himself the loudest, declaring "My strength and powers alone can drive away many men at one time." Masamune, with a smile, presented him a crab, perhaps as an intimation of his belief that Shigenobu's swiftness would be greatest in retreat. But Shigenobu haughtily refused it and declared that when he had a "big deed in his heart" he did not creep like a crab. He proved an exception to the western maxim "of big talkers, small doers," for he was as good as his brag, and went into the battle and perished nobly in the midst of the carnage.

The siege still continued, though in all the small engagements Masamune was successful. Finally the investing army sent an offer of peace, "for," they said, "it is now summer, and very hot, and anyhow this is a quarrel between relations, and we are tired and want to end it." As a matter of fact their provisions were nearly all exhausted and the leaders had despaired of triumphing after so many repulses. But Masamune, when he saw victory near by, was abrupt and said they spoke lies, and he didn't care to hear any more and drove them away. But his supporters strongly advocated a more moderate measure, and he relented, and tranquillity was restored.

Masamune's ambition seemed to feed on every fresh acquisition of land. He now began to direct his gaze far beyond his one limited locality, and to dream of climbing to the highest rank. His name and success had come to the ears of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and this consummate judge of men had sent a letter of congratulation on the termination of the strife. He also made presents of crape in celebration of Masamune's safety, and addressed a short communication to Masamune's chief officers.

About this time, Tensho 16 (1588) Masamune got some information as to the state of affairs in the southern

part of the empire, from Sakon Shogen, possibly his spy there. This assistant also forwarded a book containing a description of that section. Possibly Masamune intended to make a visit to Kyoto, as such a visit is referred to by his correspondent. Masamune answered in fitting terms, and the usual presents were passed.

The following year Tokugawa sent another note of good wishes to Masamune.

But Masamune kept up his career of conquest in Northern Japan, even though he did fondly hope to bring under his sway the southern portion at some indefinite time. He was not a mere vulgar dealer in muscular power, if one may judge from a hint or two now and then accidentally allowed by the dry-as-dust chroniclers to creep in. After subduing a certain castle, he was so indulgent that he earned the love of the people, who, it is said, worshiped him as a god. He did not put any to death, and he very materially lessened the rate of taxation.

Masamune did not slacken in his efforts, and at last all the opposition was centralised under Ujikatsu and Moritsugu, and they two resolved to stand boldly for their own. They sent an embassy to Kyoto to plead for help from Ishida Mitsunari, a high and influential retainer around Hideyoshi. He bestowed words of comfort: You are faithful to the Taiko (Hideyoshi), who praises you; when he has finished punishing the Hōjō family he will come and destroy Masamune. Take heart and hold out till he comes." Ujikatsu was so much emboldened by these words that he became rash, and was decoyed into an ambush and he and all his cause overthrown.

Masamune had extended his dominions to Echigo on the west, to Miharu on the east and to the sea on the north, and had conquered seven divisions of Sendō as far south as Shirakawa. His chiefs gathered about him and pointed with commendable pride to the range of sway, and exhorted moderation, and cessation from further activity. But the

ambitious captain firmly answered, "No, I am not content to settle down in a castle. I must push my sceptre to still greater distance. I want to clear the wicked out of the Kuantō<sup>9</sup> land, and then at length I will rule over all the provinces of Japan. For the present I am not firmly settled at home, as my vassals are not yet cemented together, and now I will turn my attention to the castle of Mito, and gradually force my way on down south." What would have been the final limit of his aim, no one can say, but he now came in contact with a greater man than himself and his soaring pride was effectually baffled.

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## CHAPTER II.

### DATE AND HIDEYOSHI.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi is generally considered the greatest man in Japanese history. Of the meanest and most insignificant person and obscurest extraction, he had fearful odds to fight against in a land where birth and family-connections count for so much. But he had all the self-confidence and audacity of genius, and never for one instant doubted the sacred spark within his bosom. He singled out Nobunaga, at that time the most powerful among the barons, and schemed and planned to enter his service. He succeeded, and was a most faithful adherent of his new-found master. When Nobunaga was killed, his right-hand man stepped into his place.

Japan at this time and for several previous centuries, was a bloody battlefield. From one end of the land to the other, a constant struggle was going on among the Daimyōs.

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<sup>9</sup> The provinces east of the Hakone mountains.



Many of them were so nearly matched in power and men and talent that a slight loss through defection or defeat would tempt the ambition of a neighbor, and local warfare would break out. One great family after another would rise to supreme control, but their rivals were always restive and would raise the shout of opposition at the first favorable moment. Besides, the local spirit of independence was strong, and it seemed to the ruler safest to let it exhaust itself in contests, so long as it did not threaten the general peace and stability. At last a genius arose to bring order out of chaos, to reduce all to one central authority, and to give the wearied land peace. The man who paved the way for this beneficent task was Hideyoshi.<sup>10</sup> After the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi actively set to work to overcome opposition. He succeeded in bringing under his influence all Japan, except the Hōjō family in central Japan, and Date Masamune in Northern Japan.

#### DATE AT ODAWARA.

When Hideyoshi called for the allegiance of the barons, all responded at once except the Hōjō and Date families. The Hōjō was an old historic family and had for many years been the leaders in Japan. With bitterness they saw an upstart like Hideyoshi climb to the highest point. The leader of the family, Hōjō Ujimasa, tried to induce Date to form an alliance with him to check Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi moved against the Hōjō forces and shut them up in the castle at Odawara.<sup>11</sup>

Date had sent no assistance to either side, though of course Hideyoshi had demanded aid from all the daimyos. But very strong and very numerous intimations came to Date that it would be well for him to give in his adhesion.

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<sup>10</sup> See Dening's "Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi"

<sup>11</sup> For an account of the siege, see Dening's Hideyoshi, p 341 *et al.* Odawara was some forty miles southward from Tōkyō.

His emissaries around Hideyoshi conveyed their earnest advice to this effect, and Ieyasu indicated that he thought it would be well for Date to attend the Kuampaku (Hideyoshi) at Odawara. Above all, Hideyoshi very plainly laid down his desire in a letter he himself sent.<sup>12</sup> In his uncertainty Date of course had recourse to a council. His right-hand man, Date Norizane, stood up for disregard of Hideyoshi. He urged that Date had already affronted Hideyoshi by announcing his intention of moving against the Kuanto provinces. Nothing could be gained by going at this late hour, and it was much better to divide the realm with the Kuampaku than to go down and be scolded for their delay in coming. Others feared the power of Hideyoshi, and pointed out that even Ieyasu had submitted. But the other great lieutenant, Katakura Kagetsuna, was silent and in the midst of the discussion he rose and left. No decision was reached and the council broke up. That night Date sought out Katakura and asked his views in private. Katakura took a fan and struck, as if driving off flies, and then said: "Warriors assemble and disperse like summer flies. One stroke of a fan may scatter them, but they soon gather together again. Time only does what man cannot." However oracular this may sound to western ears, it probably conveyed a plain meaning to Date, as he very soon after that set out for Odawara.

But before starting he made his position safe at home by putting his little brother Kojiro to death. The family of Date's mother was jealous of his growing power and desired to check it. They worked on the old lady's family pride by representing that the Date family would now come to an end, as Date would suffer death at the hands of Hideyoshi. To save the family from extinction she had better kill Date Masamune, and elevate Kojiro in his stead.

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<sup>12</sup> In this letter he said: "I do not enquire closely into the past of those who surrender to me. That is the law of heaven and I follow the same rule."

Her family and themselves would be rid of a rival. She agreed and invited Date to a dinner that had been liberally seasoned with poison. But the whole plot miscarried, as one of the other guests fell dead before Date had tasted of the food. To prevent any new schemes from being hatched Kojiro was killed.

He then set out on his pilgrimage of humility, dressed in white, as he fully expected death. He was attended by a few only, and all of them were forced to stop at a small village some distance from Odawara for examination by agents of the Kuampaku. Date was questioned on two points: (a) Why had he not sent an ambassador with a card of allegiance as others had done? (b) Why had he made war on Aidzu? As to the first, Date answered that he was only an ignorant country rustic and was not acquainted with the ceremony of courts. As to the Aidzu matter, that was a struggle forced upon him, because some of his vassals, who had broken from him, had been helped by others, but in it all he had no intention of moving against Hideyoshi.

His examination seemed satisfactory, but he was ordered to make over all of the conquered land to the Kuampaku. This was a formality apparently, as it was all returned to him at once.

An interview was now arranged between the great heroes. Date dressed himself in a very peculiar way, with his hair tied up with cord generally used for binding presents sent as tokens of respect. After going through the ceremony of introduction he was about to retire, when Hideyoshi invited him to remain and give his opinion as to the proper method of reducing the castle of Odawara. Date laid aside his sword, and gave his views as to the best way of approach. Hideyoshi was much impressed by Date's military knowledge, and pronounced him an unusual man.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The characters in this incident are reversed in Denning's Hideyoshi, p. 347.

## EXAMINATION AT KYÔTO.

Date returned to his fief in year 19 of Tenshō (1591) and some trouble broke out with a neighboring lord, Gamo. Both sides appealed to Hideyoshi, and Date did not wait for any summons this time, but set out and traveled in great haste, covering the distance to Kyôto in nine days. He went to the hall of examination prepared to commit harakiri (suicide) if the decision should be unfavorable to him. He himself carried his short sword in his dress, and a chosen friend had the long sword. An attendant sat outside with the slippers.

In the course of the proceedings, a paper was produced signed by Date, in which it appeared Date had tried to incite a rebellion against Gamo. Date made no answer but simply called for writing materials, and in view of all the court made an exact copy and handed both documents to Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi marveled at the perfection of the counterfeit. "Now," said Date, "that paper, I am convinced, was written by one of my scribes. The body of it is so well done, I could be deceived by it myself, but his acuteness failed when he came to my signature. See all documents relating to civil matters, I always use the sign of wagtail, but in military papers, the wagtail always has eyeholes. The bird in this paper does not have eyeholes,<sup>14</sup> so it is a forgery. The examination ended, and Date was entirely cleared, and was given authority to move against his enemies.

He besieged the castle immediately after his return and refused to give any quarter. When it fell he put all to

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<sup>14</sup> In old days the samurai had symbols for their signatures, and Date used the wagtail bird as his stamp, but he made it in two ways. Ordinarily he made a rough drawing of the bird, but when he desired to be especially careful he would put in the eyes of the wagtail in such a delicate way a forger would not notice the difference. By this difference he detected and proved the imitation.

the sword, and then boxed up in spirits 181 heads, and 130 ears and noses and sent them to Hideyoshi as a token of his success.

#### INVASION OF KOREA.

When Hideyoshi decided to add the Korean peninsula to his possessions, a levy was made on all the barons for help. Date in common with the others raised a strong body of fighting men and marched to Nagoya. Here he was forced to wait a long time in idleness. He passed the time in frolicking, and learning new steps in dancing. At last he wearied of such innocent pastimes and begged permission to set sail for Korea, as he was "dying with tediousness," and "longed for the atmosphere of foreign lands." Finally he reached the hostile shore, and his admirers report that he covered himself with glory. He did receive the special thanks and commendation of Hideyoshi. But the authority followed in this sketch gives nothing of special interest to any except those fond of wars and battles.

#### INTRIGUE AGAINST HIDEYOSHI.

Masamune had scarcely returned before he was charged with intriguing against Hideyoshi. The Kuampaku had adopted his nephew Hidetsugu as son and heir, but afterwards he changed his mind and desired to have as successor Hideyori, the son of a favorite concubine. He showed this preference very plainly, in order to drive Hidetsugu to commit some act that would furnish a pretext for having him killed. Hidetsugu fell into the trap, and acted so violently towards Hideyori that he was beheaded.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Dening's Hideyoshi gives a slightly different account, p. 370. It is there stated that Ishida Mitsunari, a man high in Hideyoshi's favor, wanted to succeed Hideyoshi, and to do this he had to put several rivals out of the way. In pursuing his object he falsely accused Hidetsuna of plotting a rebellion, and thus got him killed.

Date's name was bandied about in connection with the affair and he was ordered to come to Kyōto for explanation. It was demanded of him if he had plotted with Hidetsugu once when hunting. Had he ever accepted a present from him? He promptly replied he had never hunted with Hidetsugu, and as for the present, he had accepted some trifling things, but such incidents were so common as not to be worthy of attention. The shortness of the answers was likely to offend Hideyoshi, and so the officers, who seemed favorable to Date, softened down his replies considerably in their report. They represented Date as bathed in tears at his remissness in failing to get consent before accepting the presents. It was perhaps lucky for Date that this doctored report was made. As it was Hideyoshi ordered that he be imprisoned and deposed, and his son by a concubine be elevated in his place. But others interceded, and Date was finally released and the whole matter dropped.

About this time the entire town of Kyōto was in an uproar, because it was rumored that Date's men were going to burn the place. People forsook their houses and carried their valuables and furniture with them. But when Date heard of the alarms he came out and threw open his gates, and showed he was not plotting any evil, and thus the people were quieted.

Again, some enemy fastened a placard before the gate of Ieyasu, which bore the charge that Date was conspiring with Mogami, the daimio of Yamagata, to overthrow the Kuampaku and divide the empire between themselves. But this was too preposterous to excite anything but a smile from Hideyoshi.

But all these incidents, though of little weight when taken separately, when combined seemed to create a deep distrust in the mind of Hideyoshi, and finally in 4th year of Bunroku (1595) he compelled Date's leading retainers to take the oath of allegiance to him. They swore to be faithful to him, and to report the slightest sign of treachery

they might observe in Date's conduct. They bound themselves and their descendants to serve the Taiko (Hideyoshi) and his heirs for ever. If they violated any of these pledges they called down on themselves foul leprosy, the anger of heaven during seven generations, and eternal suffering. A copy of this "ironclad" oath was preserved by Hideyoshi and another put in Hideyoshi's coffin.

Though Date cleared himself of the charges made against him and thus saved his head, yet there probably was some fire where there was so much smoke. He very likely coquetted with possibilities, and was often ready to take a glance along the road his ambition wanted to travel. But so shrewd a man as he was, would not be caught napping. If he could have overthrown his master he would have been thoroughly in keeping with the spirit and custom of the times to do so. That he had the desire to do this can hardly be doubted, but he was strong enough himself to value and respect greater strength in another. The experience gained from all these accusations and examinations made him all the more cautious in venturing on the stormy sea. As he grew older, either he resolutely turned his ear against all tempting propositions or his enemies ceased to try to entrap him. At any rate his biography after this describes but few examinations for intrigue, and towards the end it relates how faithful Date was to the Tokugawa family, and how he was very active in heading off incipient plots.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### DATE AND THE TOKUGAWA.

On the death of Hideyoshi in the year 1598, the great organiser Ieyasu came into control of affairs, and the Shogunate remained in his family for nearly three centuries

without a break in their power. He was not a warrior, though he was successful in the few encounters he had, but he was emphatically what none before him had been, an administrator. He cleared the ground for moulding feudalism into the rigidity it preserved until it was all broken a third of a century ago. He was a keen diplomat and played on the fears and hopes of his barons. He kept them under either by bending them or breaking them. Above all he gave the land peace. After Sekigahara, in 1600, the last great battle on Japanese soil, the discordant elements quickly died away. The era of the unyielding castes came in, bringing with it the picturesque Samurai, and the intricate code, the punctilios of etiquette.

Date knew Ieyasu and had often passed presents with him. He saw who was likely to be the coming man in the island. He was already friendly with him, and it was easy enough to bow to the new monarch as soon as he ascended to the seat of power.

#### ALLIANCE WITH IEYASU.

Though one-eyed, Date could easily distinguish between the setting and the rising sun, and Ieyasu on his part probably saw how valuable such an ally in the north might be, especially as Date was perhaps next to Hideyoshi as a soldier. It was likely easy for Date to foresee that the reins would soon slip from Hideyori's hands. When both sides saw the advantages of an alliance, it was a simple thing to arrange a marriage between Date's daughter and Ieyasu's son, even though one of Hideyoshi's solemn injunctions had to be set at naught.

Among his last words Hideyoshi strictly forbade the secret contraction of political marriages among the daimios. The stern old warrior was hardly laid away before this sacred order was defied, and Date was one of the earliest to do so by the union of his daughter with Tadateru, the son of Ieyasu.



One of the bugyō (regents of Hideyoshi) complained to Ieyasu of this step, but did not get much satisfaction. Then he went to Date, who very innocently said he thought Ieyasu had given proper notice to the bugyō. Then the middle man who had conducted the negotiations was approached, and he felt hurt that anyone should think he would dare to go to the bugyō, as he was only an ordinary go-between in fixing the match, and he had supposed that either Ieyasu or Date had gotten the permission of the bugyō. Then there seemed nothing to do except to kill the middleman, and so the bugyō threatened. But Ieyasu declared that if the regents should kill the mediator, he would kill the regents. Date of course saw which was the safer side, and he stood up with Ieyasu. The bugyō saw the danger looming up, and they set to work to mollify all parties, and even went so far as to bind themselves in writing never to oppose Ieyasu.

#### AID AT ŌSAKA.

Hideyori, the son of Hideyoshi, had never acquiesced in the assumption of control by Iyeyasu, and in 1615 the smouldering feud between them came to a white heat, and the last vestige of opposition to Ieyasu was wiped away by the death of Hideyori and the horrible massacre of thousands of his followers at the siege and sacking of Ōsaka. When Ieyasu saw the struggle was inevitable he called for troops from all the barons. Date was very prompt with his levy, and set out on his march southwards. Before marching to Edo (Tōkyō) he met a messenger from Hideyori asking for Date's efforts as a mediator with the Tokugawa. Date had a conference with the family in Edo, but the matter was not settled and Date continued on his way to Ōsaka. His men marched by different routes and assembled at Otsu.

From that place he led all his forces to the besieged town. He fixed his quarters near Ōsaka, and suddenly one night they were all set on fire and burned. Suspicion rested on several, but nothing definite could be established. Date was furious, and wanted to "kill some one," as he said, but dared not until he first had the permission of the Shogun. Another lodging was given him and a gentle emollient in the shape of a present of some guns from Ieyasu.

He was very active in the investment of the citadel and was successful in spying out the state of affairs within. He sent his emissaries in, and thus learned the plan of the fortifications. Through deserters and captives he arrived at a very accurate notion as to the strength of the defenders. He was very outspoken in advising the rejection of all overtures from Hideyori, as in his opinion the difference could only be fully settled by death, and this was the conclusion of the conflict.

#### FIDELITY TO THE TOKUGAWA.

In the second year of Genna (1616), just about a year after the destruction of his last foe at Ōsaka, Ieyasu fell ill, and feeling that his end was near, he sent for Date to come to him at Sumpu (Shizuoka). Date went at once and Ieyasu required a pledge of him to support his heir, Hidetada. Ieyasu, as a parting gift, presented to Date a valuable sword and a set of tea service made of gold and silver. These<sup>16</sup> it may be readily supposed, Date preserved with most sacred care, and allowed a sight of them to none except to the most intimate and esteemed of his friends. On the death of Ieyasu, Date went into mourning and ordered all music to be hushed for fifteen days.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>This was likely a general custom of the period, and was not special to Date.

When Hidetada went to Kyōto for his investiture as Shogun, Date was the leader of the train that filed into the court.

A pleasing incident of Date's fidelity is related in connection with the death of Hidetada, the son of Ieyasu.<sup>17</sup> When Hidetada towards the end of his life began to reflect on what might happen after his death, he called the great barons to an assembly and addressed them somewhat as follows:—My father Ieyasu, with your help, removed all the disorder of this land. But now I am passing away and my son and heir is too young, and again, I fear, confusion will come, and the land be rent and torn. I had much rather give the authority to some of you than to have this happen. Now which shall it be—shall I give power to one of you, or shall all of you agree to support my son?"

No one said a word until, amid all the silence, Date rose and delivered his views. "Let us all bear in mind the benefits we have received from Ieyasu, and none of us will wish to disturb his descendant. But if any of you or all of you wish to overturn the present authority, then do so, but know beforehand that you must overpower me first. When you have pushed me aside, then you can fight the Shōgun."

All were surprised, because they knew how ambitious Date was, but all respected his loyalty and feared his strength. All with one voice said, "We are sure Date has spoken the truth, and if we hear of any one rising against the Shōgun, we will make it our duty to put such a one down. We are all under deep obligation to Ieyasu, and we will not act against his descendant."

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<sup>17</sup> In the biography followed it is stated that this incident is related by Otsuki Shuji.

## CHAPTER IV.

## HIS LATTER DAYS AND CHARACTER.

The later years of Date's life were passed in peace, perhaps less from his own choice than from respect for the iron hand of the Shōguns. He had been confirmed in possession of his territory first by Hideyoshi and then by the successive rulers from the Tokugawa family. While there were no further gains to hope for, yet there was no anxiety about possible losses. His domains were wide, and probably furnished scope for all his talents in improving and developing them. On the 4th day of 8th month of 11th year of Kwanei (Sept. 5, 1634) Iyemitsu confirmed Date in all his possessions, and the whole comprised 1,073 villages, yielding an income of 625,731 koku of rice.<sup>18</sup>

A life of peace was probably a dull life for him who had been so long accustomed to tread victorious battlefields. His spirit was still fresh and his ambition keen, but he lacked opportunity. His days were passed in following out intricate ceremonials, in feasting and entertaining, in enforced visits to Edo.

## HIS DEATH.

It was on one of these visits that he met his last foe, death. In the 18th year of Kuamei (1636), in the spring he set out for Edo. He was failing in bodily vigor before he started and seemed to feel a presentiment of his fate. His

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<sup>18</sup> A koku equals five English bushels, and so the whole amount was 3,128,655 bushels. Roughly speaking a koku may be said at present to be worth about ten yen, or seven dollars (U. S. gold), so such revenue now would be about four million dollars (U. S. gold).

faithful vassals did not want him to risk the pain and fatigues of the long journey, but he was resolute in his desire to offer his respects to the Shogun. When he reached Edo the Shogun manifested special interest in his welfare and sent the court physician to attend him. But brave old Date demanded to know the nature of his disease, and was informed that it was only the weakness incident to old age. The Shogun Iyemitsu sent presents of quail and sparrows, and announced that he was going to visit the fearless old warrior. With the notions of the ceremony due to so august a personage such a visit was a severe ordeal for the sick man. Poor Date was wrapped in his robes and kept sitting a long weary time waiting for the noble guest. But Iyemitsu himself took the pulse of him and asked how he was. The failing baron answered, "I am now sick, and am sure to die, and I am grieved that I die in bed. I am a soldier and always have been, and my dream always was to die on horseback in the midst of the battle. But now it seems I cannot. *Shikatanai*" (Cannot be helped). He then gave his parting advice to his master: "All is now peace, but no one knows how long it will be so. But men grow weak during the days of calm and order, and when confusions and uprisings suddenly come there are no brave soldiers to put down the enemy. Men must be kept from lapsing into weakness. No one can do this but you, and I will give instructions to my son to assist you. Please bear in mind all I say." Iyemitsu was affected to tears and went away with heavy heart.

As the days passed his strength failed, and he called his chief men around him and appointed those who were to die with him (*jinshi*). He then had a grand feast prepared for all of them. A few weeks after he died, on 24th day of 5th month of 13th year of Kwanei (June 17, 1636), at the age of seventy years. Proper period of mourning was enjoined by the Shogun.

The next day his body was started for Sendai, and was temporarily buried a month later. The next year his final resting place was prepared, and his ashes now lie shrouded by a dark grove of cedar at the top of a small mountain on the right bank of the Hirose river, opposite the town of Sendai, a short distance below his old castle grounds.

#### PUBLIC WORKS.

After he was firmly established with Ieyasu, the greatest power in Japan, Date again began to take away territory from his neighbors. He either found a pretext or made some for besieging some of the neighboring castles and destroying them. All his conquests were confirmed by Ieyasu, who also made a formal grant of several provinces that Hideyoshi had granted Date.

But he had a mind beyond mere warfare. His ambition was insatiable, but he wanted to do more than merely overrun his neighbors. He constructed great public works, both temporal and religious, that would preserve his memory among a grateful people. He erected a castle, reared temples and dug canals and irrigation channels.

In the year five of Keicho (1600) he removed to Sendai with the permission of Ieyasu. Previously he had dwelt at Yonesawa and sometimes at Shirakawa. His new home, Sendai, had been known as Aomorisaki. Tradition relates that it had been bestowed by Minamoto Yoritomo on one of his vassals. Date built a strong castle on the right bank of the river Hirose, on a high bluff overlooking all the town and plain on the other bank. It was an impregnable position at that time.<sup>10</sup> He also removed

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<sup>10</sup> The castle of course does not stand now, having been torn down and razed even to the foundations many years ago, along with other castles in Japan. The high sloping walls of massive blocks of stone still remain, but the lofty point occupied by the citadel is

from Yanagewa, a village near by, the temple of Hachiman, and rebuilt it in Sendai.

But his greatest monument to religion was the famous temple at Matsushima, the village on the shore opposite the well-known Matsushima archipelago. The following interesting account of it is taken from one of the best authorities on Japanese life and history.<sup>20</sup>

"The name of Date Masamune has long been familiar to students of Japanese history as one of the great contemporaries of Ieyasu, but the materials which the researches of historians have unearthed tend to show that, while as a patron of learning and art he was no whit less active than the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Date's appreciation of the superiority of certain foreign methods and appliances was much keener than that of his suzerain. He cultivated the friendship of foreign missionaries because he knew how many useful things they were able to teach him. At the same time he was on the most intimate terms with learned Buddhist priests, whose counsels on all subjects he highly valued. It must be borne in mind that in Date's days the leading Buddhists were deeply versed in the political questions of the time and were regular Richelieus in intrigue. There is no proof that Date Masamune actually renounced the Buddhist faith. His religious belief was no deeper than that of the mass of his educated contemporaries, or of his successors, for that matter, and hence he was doubtless unconscious of the inconsistency of expressing sympathy with a foreign creed while doing his utmost to promote the interests of the faith of his ancestors. One thing is certain, he rebuilt at great expense, with wood brought from the province of Kii, the Dzuganji, a fine old

all overgrown with bush and weed. All the place is now the property of the military department, and extensive barracks have been erected there to shelter a large body of troops.

<sup>20</sup> From "Editorial Notes" in *Japan Daily Mail*, of Thursday, Dec. 17, 1891, Yokohama.

temple, erected in a delightfully picturesque spot at Matsushima, near Sendai. The varied tastes of the famous Sendai Baron are well illustrated by the objects still to be seen at the Dzuganji. For eight hundred years prior to Date's time a Buddhist temple had occupied the site chosen for the erection of the Dzuganji. In the outer court is still to be seen a cave where the famous Hojo Tokiyori spent a night during the three years (A.D. 1261-47) in which he traversed the country incognito in the garb of a mendicant friar, in order to examine the state of local government affairs throughout the various provinces of the empire. In the inner court of the temple stand two plum trees called *hachi-fusa ume*, or eight-clustered plum trees, one bearing white blossom, the other red, which, it is said, were brought over from Korea by Date himself and planted there. The temple is entered by a gate and a porch which are said to be an exact imitation of those of Keizanji in China erected in the Sung period. The carving which attracts the eye soon after entering the temple was the work of the famous Hidari no Jingoro, in the execution of which he used no tool but a knife. A brass *Kwanon* exhibited is reported to have been brought from India. The sad fact that Date Masamune's death was the signal for 20 of his faithful followers to die by their own hands, in order to accompany him to the land of shades, is commemorated by the 20 handsome tablets which stand near the shrine containing a well-executed wooden image of the renowned Sendai baron. Date had among his retainers and dependents famous carvers and painters, and examples of their skill are furnished in abundance in the various handsomely ornamented rooms of the temple. At the back of the temple Date prepared a room into which no one was allowed to enter. It was designed for the accommodation of the first emperor that should condescend to visit the temple. Date gave special direction before his death that, however long the priests might have to wait, they were under no circumstances to allow any one to occupy



the room until it had been honoured by an Imperial visit. In May, 1876, the present Emperor occupied the room, and was so pleased with the tokens of loyalty to the throne which the temple furnished that he contributed a thousand *yen* toward the better preservation of the building. Among the many interesting relics shown to visitors is a letter written by Masako, the wife of Yoritomo. Date was much given to versifying, and among the numerous lines penned by him still extant are the following, predicting the future prosperity of the temple, a prediction which, we fear, has been very inadequately fulfilled :—

Matsushima no  
Matsu no yowai ni  
Kono tera no  
Suye sakaye naru  
Toshi wa furu tomo.

‘Like the long-lived pine tree, this temple shall witness the lapse of ages and see prosperity in its latter days.’ Date Masamune was a man of fine physique, and never failed to impress those who saw him for the first time. His dress too was invariably of a character to attract attention even in a crowd. This peculiarity of his has added a word to the Japanese language. The term *date* is now used to express the idea of showiness, both natural and artificial, though more often the latter.”

Date in a limited way was a forerunner of the present enlightened system of internal improvements. He opened many irrigation ditches, leading the water along the sides of the banks, and coaxing it up higher above the stream and then sending it in long tunnels under hills, and finally conducting it calmly across the plains. About thirty miles north of Sendai is a large shallow lake, with a bottom very regular and level. He planned to drain off this liquid mass, and use the ground for cultivation of rice. He began the

the work, and dug several canals, but before he could make a sufficient number of them he died, and the lake still remains.

He dug another canal to be used as a means of transportation. The following is a meagre account of it, as almost no records about it could be found.<sup>21</sup>

“ In middle life Date established his Court at Sendai, a town on the Hirose River, about six or eight miles from the Pacific, at the nearest point. This stream is scarcely more than a mountain torrent, leaping and raging from the steep hills in winter, and fretfully tumbling over a pebbly bottom in summer. When swollen by melted snow, it is too angry to bear burdens, and when reduced by summer's heat, it is too weak. As Date wanted to make Sendai the chief city in his feudality he found it necessary to harness some natural power to assist man in his weary transportation of heavy loads over the rough ungraded roads of the time. The easiest and most manageable ally was water. The ocean was only five or six miles away and a wide plain extended to the beat of the surf. Material, when once brought by water to a neighbouring point on the Pacific, could be easily carried over the level road to Sendai. At this neighbouring point he determined to found a harbour, at the town now known as Kamo. Here a small river, the Nanakita-gawa, offers its mouth to form a sheltered inlet for boats. Outside, the heavy breakers come rolling and heaving from the Pacific, and the outlook seaward was too rough for boats in common use at that period. The coast goes on northward without any serious bend for five or six miles, until just above the pretty fishing village of Shobuta, the big indentation of Matsushima Archipelago is reached, and here the angry surge in remote ages triumphantly made its way inland and ate out the soft strata, leaving all the fantastic 808 islands. Slowly the waters have nibbled and gnawed until

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<sup>21</sup> *Japan Daily Mail*, June 18, 1892.

there is a long arm of placid liquid stretching out to Shiogama, and thence a jagged coastline stretches northward by the village of Matsushima, by the foot of Mount Tomiyama, by Nobiru, on to Ishinomaki. In all this broad bay, the force of the waves was broken by the numerous islands, and navigation was comparatively safe almost as far upward as Ishinomaki. Fishing was secure and profitable. Hamlets nestled in the valleys and retired nooks along the coast. Rice was cultivated in small patches that could be watered by the streams trickling down. All the sharp points and steep hills in the country around were covered with timber. To get this tribute of man and nature to Sendai without encountering the fury of the ocean surges, was the aim of Date. For boats to double the headland north of Shobuta and then face the unchecked wrath of the Pacific on the passage down the coast to Kamo, was to invite destruction, especially during the several unseasonable months. To avoid this danger, and to furnish sure and easy transportation from the wide bay above Kamo, Date decided to cut a canal of six or seven miles in length from Oshiro near Shiogama to Kamo. He also intended to lengthen the canal down to the mouth of the Abukuma river, but this he did not do, and it is not absolutely certain that even the first part was done successfully. There are several arguments that point to the construction of such a work. First there is the general tradition in the locality that he dug this waterway. There is secondly the name. It was first known as *Kiki bori*, or "drawing wood canal," the presumption being that he mainly used it to float down timber for his building operations in Sendai. The present colloquial title for it is *Teisambori*, Date's canal, *teisam* being Date's posthumous appellation. But the strongest evidence is the fact of the clear trace of a canal when the engineers surveyed the route a few years since. But observation would show that the old waterway could hardly have been of much service except when it was flooded by high

tide, as it was not deep enough. At any rate, its usefulness did not continue, and it was filled with crumbling earth and choked with weeds and grass, and all the plans and labour were in vain so far as helping posterity."

#### ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY.

In these later years of his life, when he was at peace whether he wanted to be so or not, his active spirit could not be content to sit housed in his castle. He could hunt, but this was not enough, he was solicitous of the welfare of his subjects. He could have trusted to the reports of deputies, but he preferred to see with his own eyes, and so he set out on a tour of inspection of his whole dependency, ostensibly on a hunting expedition, but in reality to observe the life of his vassals. He did not go in great state, but often lodged in the commonest huts so that he might have the better means to observe. He was very kind and bestowed help on all he found in need. To the poor he gave food, to the distressed he gave money, to the sick medicine. All were touched by such unusual graciousness on the part of a superior and the common folk worshiped him as a god. He made a thorough enquiry into the affairs of all localities, and was two months going the rounds.

In one branch of public service he gazed far into the future. He called his head men around him one day and spoke of the peace in the land, and said there was no war, no battle to kill off men, and in consequence population would grow faster and faster, and more and more products would be needed. Especially would there be a demand for timber, and provision would have to be made in advance for a supply of this material. It was their duty to look out for the good of those to come after, and he wanted to establish a system of forestry.

His chiefs agreed, and suggested that the men to take charge of this new industry should be chosen from among the retainers by ballot. Date was willing and the vote was taken, but the men selected did not suit him. Another election was held and again he was dissatisfied with the choice. Another trial was made with the same result, and finally out of weariness Date closed the ballot box and appointed men to his own liking. His justification for thus abruptly crushing representative institution in the embryo was that the popular decision had lighted on incapable men.

Notwithstanding this misfortune he did not lose interest in forestry, and he set in force a regular system of tree cultivation. Seeds were brought from a distance and a nursery was started in every village. The people were supplied with the young shoots at first without price but afterwards a small sum was charged. Every householder was required to plant and care for the young trees. Officers were chosen to see that this was done. No tree could be cut down without the permission of the authorities, and for every tree cut down, another had to be planted in its stead. The office for the general oversight of the whole system was called "Sanrin Kwanri," mountain-forest-officers.

#### HIS POETRY.

As has been stated, Date's poetical faculty may be considered as an inheritance, as so many of his ancestors were accustomed to versify. Date Masamune seems to have been peculiarly felicitous in the use of metre as a vehicle of expression. It is certain that he was apt and quick, whether in the heat of battle, or at the banqueting board in a trial of skill. He was equally ready in pouring forth lamentation at the death of a great man, or rapidly turning off a few measures in a poetical contest.

When he heard of the illness of the Shogun Hidetada he sent a hymn to cheer and animate him.

- I. Tada-naraun  
 Kimi ga kokochi mo,  
 Kyo yori ya  
 Aratamarinau:  
 Aratama no toshi.

“Your health which is not as usual will become *new* from to day with the coming of the *new* year.” (The point lies in the pun on the Japanese word for *new*.)

It was in the early part of the year that this hopeful sonnet was sent, but in spite of its cheerful reference to the revivifying influence of the new year the unfortunate Shogun slowly sank under his malady, and finally desired to have an interview with the great baron from the north. Date was taken to the sick man's bedside and was earnestly besought to be a father to the young heir to the high post. Date cordially promised not only for himself but for his descendants as well. He pledged himself to strike down any treachery he might see. Hidetada died composed from his anxiety. When the news reached Date he again broke forth into song:—

- II. Sari tomo to  
 O mō ni somanu  
 Namida kana.  
 Yume ni mo kayoe,  
 Shide no omokage ;

“The tears flow in great quantity though I try not to weep. I wish to see the shadow of his dying face in my dreams.”

Date was afterwards presented with a fine sword by the new Shogun, but whether for his poetry or his promises can hardly be said.

On one of his visits to Kyōto he was invited to an imperial poetical party. During the course of the entertain-

ment the "bamboo" was given as the subject of composition and Date instantly struck off the following :

III. Kuretake no  
Yoyo ni yowai wo  
Chigiretsutsu,  
Kimi ya chitose no  
Aki wo Kasanen.

"The age of the Emperor is destined to be as long as that of the bamboo. He will live to see a thousand autumns."

After making all preparations for death, Date as the closing work of life composed his death ode.

IV. Kumori naki  
Kokoro no tsuki wo  
Sakidatete  
Ukiyo no yami wo  
Terashite zo yuku.

"With the cloudless moon of my mind before me I go to the other world lighting the darkness of this world."  
(That is, this world is dark, and he has only his mind as a torch to guide him to the other world.)

## PART II.

## DATE'S EMBASSY TO EUROPE.

Just eight years before the middle of the 16th century the first intercourse between Europeans and Japanese took place on a sandy beach near Tanegashima, when a Chinese junk with the Portuguese navigator Mendez Pinto on board touched the shore. When asked why he had come, Pinto answered he had come for trade.<sup>22</sup> The spirit of trade has nearly always been the first pioneer into new regions, and it is always followed, and sometimes preceded, by the spirit of religion. Just the year before the half century ended, Francis Xavier in 1549 set foot on the soil of Nippon and began that successful propagandising that is one of the marvels of mission-history. These two factors, one commercial and the other spiritual, brought Japan into contact with the western world, and the mistakes of one or the other, or both, closed Japan to the world. Portugal came first and Spain, England, and Holland soon followed. The international relations were not put on the formal footing they now occupy, but the actual conditions were not very different from those of the present. One or two ports, chiefly Nagasaki and Hirado, were opened to foreign vessels. The restrictions were much more severe and the surveillance much more strict.

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<sup>22</sup> Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan*, p. 8.



Just as now, there was then a keen desire to appropriate whatever seemed best fitted to Japan. Foreigners were used to teach western methods and appliances. The Englishman Will Adams was kept at the Shogun's court to instruct the natives in navigation and shipbuilding. The Spanish Governor of the Philippines was asked to send experienced miners to dig silver. The Dutch introduced European medicines and explained surgical methods. Along with these arts of healing the Japanese also adopted new arts of killing. Their first firearms came from the Portuguese, and a manufactory was at once set up and the missiles of destruction were rapidly prepared.<sup>23</sup> Tobacco, the potato and other agricultural staples were brought over to be modified in their characteristics, and to flourish widely in their new home.

#### RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE.

But the most striking feature of this western irruption was the rapid course of Christianity among this conservative race. Various special reasons are given, such as the low state of the native faith, the open countenance of Hideyoshi, who despised the Buddhist priesthood, the peculiar fitness of the early evangelists for the task—but the explanation of this quick growth of alien doctrines will always remain a matter of difficulty. The beginnings were made by a mere handful of laborers, but the increase was almost phenomenal. In one cycle of a Jewish jubilee from the start, there were nearly two million professors of Christianity in the island.<sup>24</sup> They embraced all classes, and even some of daimiō rank were numbered among them. Hideyoshi was accounted in sympathy with this transplanted faith.

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<sup>23</sup> Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan* p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan*, p. 14.

## SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

With foreign merchants in the open ports, with priests traversing the entire length and breadth of the land, climbing every mountain, penetrating to every fastness, visiting every hamlet, sailing to every island, observing, recording, studying all things, it was only natural that the inquisitive mind of the Japanese should long to know something in return of these active people. Their life and speech, their account of their home land, would fire these children of the orient to journey thither. Merchants were tempted by the alluring prospect of gain to steer their barks to Mexico and to the Philippine islands. Adventurous spirits ventured to Siam and even as far as Hindostan.<sup>25</sup> The fever spread from the common people until it reached and affected the feudal lords. Daimiōs began to cast their eyes southward and speculate about those realms from which the large craft came slowly sailing. Curiosity at first had to be content with what could be gathered from travelers, from merchants, from sailors and from priests. Whatever communication was to be addressed to another land, it had to go through this tortuous channel. Even negotiations on affairs of state had to be entrusted to these unofficial agents. Such a method was confused and unsatisfactory, and lacked the stamp of authority. It seemed more dignified and authoritative to send duly accredited representatives, either Japanese or foreign, or both. Owing to ignorance of a foreign language no Japanese could go without using a foreigner, usually a priest, as interpreter, while some foreigners were appointed as envoys without any Japanese accompanying them.

## EARLY EMBASSIES.

What was the object of these journeys to the far-distant countries, whether chiefly for gain or religion, was perhaps

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<sup>25</sup> Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan*, p. 10.

a question that the Japanese lords themselves did not attempt to answer in a decided way. Whether there was a definite purpose in these embassies, perhaps no one can now say, and it is likely that the barons who sent them did not know. It may have been at first largely a liberal spirit of investigation that carried them over the wide seas, with perhaps some ulterior but vague notion of gain to themselves.

So far as known, the first of these formal missions was sent out in 1585 by the two southern lords of Arima and Omura. The party consisted of four persons of rank, under the auspices of the Jesuits. They were absent eight years, and were everywhere through Europe received with the greatest honor and ceremony, and after passing through Spain on to Rome returned with some seventeen missionaries. Nothing positive or decided seems to have come of the matter, except possibly an increase of zeal among the fathers and followers of the church.

Twenty-five years later, in 1610, the Shogun Ieyasu, after concluding a treaty with the governor of the Philippines, resolved to send a messenger to the king of Spain.<sup>26</sup> The Spanish governor of the Philippines, who had just concluded the treaty, was asked to name a priest as messenger from Japan to Spain. The governor Vivero named Sotelo, but afterward appointed Father Alonzo Munoz, who like Sotelo was a member of the Franciscan order.<sup>27</sup> But the Japanese desired Vivero to be at the head of the envoy, and consequently to him were intrusted all the presents and dispatches. They set sail for Mexico in a

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<sup>26</sup> Page's Vol. I, p. 189, says it was the emperor who made the treaty.

<sup>27</sup> This Sotelo afterwards went with Date's embassy in 1613, and in his speech before the king of Spain he said he had been named to go on the mission in 1610, but had to decline on account of ill health. Page's Vol. I, pp. 330-331.

boat built by Will Adams, according to European model.<sup>28</sup> The embassy returned at the end of 1615 composed of three Franciscans, bearing a letter from the king of Spain. By this time the persecutions were raging hotly in Japan, they met with but cold treatment, and soon after left without accomplishing anything.<sup>29</sup>

## DATE MASAMUNE'S EMBASSY.

From his rank as daimiō, from his connection with Ieyasu through marriage, and from his frequent visits to Edo (Tōkyō), Date must have had full knowledge of all these missions to foreign lands. He of course must have often met Will Adams, and all other foreigners who were in high favor with the Shogun. It is also stated in *Kinjo Hion* that he met and communicated with a large shipwrecked party that were detained in Edo (Tōkyō) for a year or more. The conversations with all these probably gave him sufficiently vivid accounts and glowing pictures of foreign lands either to excite his curiosity or tempt his ambition. The triumphal procession from city to city that the southern embassy made in Europe would naturally stir up his jealousy. But we can only conjecture what he had in mind. Some seem inclined to believe that he was influenced by Father Sotelo.<sup>30</sup> But it is more probable that the main inspiration came from the Japanese side.

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<sup>28</sup> Sotelo perhaps went as far as Mexico with the suite, as he returned from that country to Japan the following year. See Page's Vol. I, p. 202.

<sup>29</sup> There were other messages sent by the Shogun, but this is given as a fair type of them, and as connected with Sotelo, Date's ambassador.

<sup>30</sup> Berchet in his *Japanese Embassies* seems inclined to hold the view that Date was persuaded to this step by Sotelo.

But having once decided on this move, the trouble was to get suitable men as head. Although persecutions had already begun, it was necessary to choose some one of the "hated sect" as interpreter. A proper man was right at hand.

LUIS SOTELO.

Many of the Franciscans then in Japan were Spaniards, perhaps the most of them, and they appeared to pay special attention to the diplomatic side of their duties. As seen above, they had charge of the embassy sent out in 1610, and now another member of the order, Sotelo, was chosen by Date, voluntarily joining those who devote themselves so much to their faith that they hardly have time or desire to learn any record of themselves, Sotelo has left but meagre materials for even the barest notice of his life, or at least the materials, if any, are hardly accessible. He was born in the sixteenth century of a noble family in Seville and entered the Franciscan order at a tender age. He first came to Japan in 1606 in company with other *religieux*. Four years afterwards he served as agent for Vivero in making the arrangement with Ieyasu. As has been said, he was appointed on the mission of 1610 but did not go. He lived in Edo (Tōkyō) several years and there began his work by erecting a small church and a shelter for lepers. Here in 1613 he was seized and threatened with death but was saved by Date.<sup>81</sup>

AS HEAD OF THE EMBASSY ON THE JAPANESE SIDE, DATE CHOSE  
ONE OF HIS RETAINERS, HASEKURA ROKUEMON.

The materials for Hasekura's life are if anything still scantier than those for Sotelo's life. His family chronicle traces his ancestry back to the time of Yoritomo with

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<sup>81</sup> Page's Vol. I, p. 240.

as much evidence for this claim as genealogies usually have. What is much more certain is that he was high in favor with Date, and went with his master on the Korean expedition, and served so faithfully that he received warm words of commendation from Date, and also a large income.

#### ORIGIN OF THE EMBASSY.

The duality of ambassadors, Japanese and foreign, suggests a double influence in originating the mission. The Jesuits hating to see their rivals so prominent, at one time even went so far as to say there never had been any such embassy, but that the whole story was a fabrication of the Franciscans to offset the brilliant journey of the envoys from southern Japan under the leadership of the Jesuits.<sup>32</sup> The documents found in European archives, and the relics and certificate discovered in Japan and the contemporary sources of information, entirely dispose of this charge. Yet the Franciscans were moved somewhat by ambition, as Sotelo seems to have made the first step by proposing such a venture to Date. In the Japanese authority *Kinjo Hion*, it is said that Sotelo wrote to Date, but the letter is not preserved. Date's answer is stated in substance, and he expresses his entire willingness, and promises to make all provision for men and means.<sup>33</sup> Soon after this Date saved Sotelo from martyrdom in Tōkyō, possibly for this very purpose, and the priest with a friend went to Sendai, and there in conference with Date the final arrangements were made. Where the desire appears equally strong on both sides it is impossible to say which was the first mover, Japanese or foreigner.

There is another view that makes Date only a secondary actor in the scheme. It is quite likely that Ieyasu may

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<sup>32</sup> See Berchet's *Japanese Embassies*, Chap. VI.

<sup>33</sup> Sotelo may not have sent any letter, but may have made use of a messenger.

have been the real leader on the native side, and he may have used Date as a figurehead. He himself had already sent his embassy in 1610 and no news had come of it. His envoy then had been a priest unaccompanied by any Japanese. It would have been only natural with his pride, and with his commanding place in Japan, to desire to send one of his subjects as representative. At any rate he showed great interest in the preparations and sent some of the officials of his own court to supervise the preparations. He also appointed Sotelo his envoy to the king of Spain, and sent presents of armor and screens and other things to that monarch.<sup>84</sup> It is said that Sotelo went as head of the embassy through the authority of this office as envoy, and Hasekura went as vice envoy. But Hasekura was generally looked on as head, especially at the European courts.

#### THE VESSEL.

After choosing envoys, means had to be provided for carrying them over the waters. The ordinary junk would seem unsafe for so long a voyage, and it would be too expensive, even if possible, to buy or charter a foreign boat. Under the supervision of Will Adams a vessel could be constructed, and this may have been done. But it is pretty well established that the expedition set sail from some port in Date's realm. The most plausible theory seems to be the view advanced in *Kinjo Hion*, that Japanese carpenters trained under Will Adams, either repaired a foreign vessel wrecked on the coast near Sendai, or built one after the model of such a wreck. Mukai Shogen, who seems to have been a kind of "Secretary of the Navy" for Japan<sup>85</sup> had general charge of the work, and brought a number of assistants from Tōkyō with him. They seem to have formed a small colony at a place known as Tsukinoura, about 40 miles from Sendai,

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<sup>84</sup> In his audience with Philip III of Spain Sotelo declared he represented the "emperor" of Japan. Page's Vol. I, p. 331.

<sup>85</sup> Page's Vol. I, p. 342.

and not far from what is now called Oginohama. At the present day it is said that some peculiarity in the names of those living there indicates that the place of their nativity was elsewhere. Tradition also relates that the ancestor of some of them settled there about two hundred years ago. It seems clear that the embassy started from some small village near Sendai, and such a place would not have been chosen unless for exceptional reasons.

A strong confirmation of the opinion that a foreign vessel was utilized is found in the letter of the Bishop of Japan to the Jesuit-General.<sup>86</sup> He states that a vessel was wrecked on the coast of Japan, and the captain vainly tried to get it repaired, and finally was forced to sell it for 90 crowns, and then got some Japanese to build another boat. In this boat Sotelo sailed, along with many others, as ambassador. If this is correct it enables us to understand several points. We can see why so many persons went on board, as *Kinjo Hion* puts the number at 180, of whom about 60 were connected with the mission. Then the difficulty of navigating across the wide Pacific is removed, as the captain and crew of the lost vessel would of course take passage in this one and steer it to New Spain. There were also many Japanese merchants bound to Mexico with wares for sale.<sup>87</sup>

#### SKETCH OF THE JOURNEY.

The boat set sail from Tsukinoura on the 15th day of 9th month of year 18 of Keicho (Oct. 21, 1613) and reached Luzon the following month, and in

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<sup>86</sup> See Appendix II, No. 7.

<sup>87</sup> Berchet, in *Japanese Embassies*, says a model of this boat was displayed at an exhibition in Kyōto during the Meiji era. The original boat, according to *Kinjo Hion*, was of the following dimensions: length, 18 ken (about 108 feet); breadth, 5½ ken (33 feet); depth, 14 ken (84 feet).



January of the following year they landed at Acapulco. They remained in Mexico for several months, and nearly all the Japanese members of the suite were baptised except Hasekura. It was thought best to put off his baptism until they reached Europe. They finally reached Spain and were received with the warmest welcome by the city of Seville. The following translated from an Italian author gives an interesting account of their reception in Europe.<sup>88</sup>

"Here we find the first document of this Embassy, in which Date Masamune, after having exposed the purpose of his mission, and warmly recommended his envoys, requests the city of Seville to send him several pilots to instruct him to navigate between the Indies and Spain, as he intended to yearly send his vessels to Europe and thus show his good will and resolution by frequent and direct intercourse between Japan and the old continent. This document bears the date of 14th day of the 9th month of the 18th year of Keicho and corresponds to 26th October, 1613."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> *Japanese Embassies*, by Guglielmo Berchet, Chap. VI.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix II, No 2. The editor of *Kinjo Hion* says that this date is wrong and that it should be 4th day of 9th month of Keicho, or Oct. 6, 1613. Page's has the same date as the Italian author above, Berchet, who likely followed Page's. But the letter published in the *Japan Mail*, Appendix No. — has Sept. 4, 1613. Date's letter to the Pope, Page's vol. II, p. 135, is dated 4th day of 9th month, or Oct. 6, 1613. The facsimile of Date's Latin letter to the Pope gives 4th day of 9th month. That date we can rely on, and it is reasonable to suppose that all the letters had same date. (Copy of Date's Latin letter in Appendix II, No. 1). So it is safe to say *Kinjo Hion* is right in his criticism of the date above, and the correct date of Seville letter should be 4th day of 9th month, or Oct. 6, 1613. The editor of *Japan Mail* probably followed the custom of to-day and considered "9th month" as meaning the same as "September." This is entirely safe since the adoption of the European calendar, in 1873, but before that time "month" meant "lunar month," and a *numbered month* then does not mean the same as a numbered month now.

Shortly afterwards the envoys were received in solemn audience by the king of Spain.<sup>40</sup> Hasekura spoke first and declared it was the desire of Date to see all his subjects converted, as well as himself, but he asked the aid of the king in sending missionaries and in making a treaty with him. The monarch answered graciously, but as to the alliance he requested more time for deliberation.

Then Sotelo spoke about an alliance between Japan and Spain, and stated how he had exerted his influence with the Shogun to oppose the Dutch efforts for a treaty. He then handed the Shogun's letter to the king and the conference ended.

Several days after Hasekura was baptised, the ceremony being witnessed by the king's chaplain, and some members of the nobility. Hasekura received the name of Philip Francis. They then went on to Italy.

OUR ITALIAN AUTHORITY CONTINUES HIS INTERESTING ACCOUNT.

Having accomplished their mission in Spain and crossed that peninsula, they took passage on some feluccas and arrived at Genoa on the 12th October, 1615. The Document, Appendix II, No. 8, taken from the archives of Genoa and kindly handed to me by the Chevalier Belgrano, relates the reception afforded them by that city and the facilities granted them by the Senate in order to enable them to reach with the greatest possible promptitude and complete exoneration of custom-duties the eternal city, together with the numerous gifts they brought along from Japan for his Holiness the Pope. In this document we read for the first time a personal description of our ambassadors. One of them, says the document, was of Japanese nationality and was

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<sup>40</sup> Translation of the dispatch of Hasekura in Appendix III, No. 1. It will be noticed that the dispatch is in the name of Hasekura.

called Don Filippo Fasecura; (sic) the other a Spaniard of Sevilla, Luigi Sotelo by name, a Franciscan priest of the order of the "Osservanza." They have with them a train of 28 persons, for the most part Japanese, and these all are with the exception of one, of low stature, olive coloured; they have small eyes, little beard, and greatly resemble each other. Fasecura was dressed in long black-velvet tunic, over which he wore another, shorter one, of black silk; his stockings were of yellow silk, made almost like gloves, that is, with the big toe separated from the rest; and with leathern soles, and he also wore a black felt hat. The ambassador and his companions had their hair close shaved on the top of their head and on the rest of the head it was long and tied up on the back like a tail. He carried a most beautiful scimitar and also a sword. The other gentlemen wore similar tunics but less rich. They all ate with little chop-sticks. Father Sotelo wore the habit of the order and also acted as interpreter.

From Genoa the ambassadors went direct to Roma, bringing a letter of their prince to Pope Paul V. dated Sendai, 6th October, 1613 (Appendix II, No. 1). For this letter Date Masamune says that, although on account of many difficulties he had not embraced Christianity yet, he appreciated nevertheless its salutary influence, and desired that his subjects might follow its doctrines. To this end he requested His Holiness would send him a number of Franciscan monks, whom he would protect in any possible way; and also begged His Holiness to send him an efficient Prelate to direct religious matters in his States, promising to defray all expenses for his decorous maintenance. He says he has sent his envoys Hasekura and Sotelo to kiss His Holiness' feet and begs the Pope to assist him likewise in establishing friendly connexions with the Christian States of Europe, but more especially with the king of Spain and with those kings whose states or colonies lay on the way between Japan and Italy, so as to enable him to establish easy

communications. He offers the Pope anything he should desire in Japan, and meanwhile he sends him a few presents and begs he would implore for him the protection of God.

From the State archives in Venice I also took by the kind condescension of the Director five despatches of the Venetian ambassador to Rome, Simone Contarini (Appendix II, Nos. 9-13), from which it evidently appears how this Embassy was given by the Vatican a far less brilliant and far less honourable reception than the first one, owing to the influential opposition of the Jesuits, and how of the three requests made to His Holiness only one of them, and this also very incompletely, was granted. In fact Hasekura asked His Holiness to receive under his protection Date Masamune as a sovereign prince, but the Pope's answer was to the effect that on such an important subject he wanted first to consult with the king of Spain. The second request was that the Pope should appoint a catholic bishop for Japan, which was never done; and the third that he should send a number of monks to propagate the Christian faith; but the Pope replied that he would twrite to that effect to his nuncio in Spain and see what could be done. His Holiness however presented the Japanese envoy with a thousand gold ducats and with many religious objects, some of them very valuable. The Municipality of Rome alone treated this embassy exactly as they had treated the previous one, and Hasekura like his predecessors was solemnly invested in Campidoglio (Capital) with the dignity of a Roman patrician and senator.<sup>41</sup>

From Rome the Japanese Embassy wanted to go to Venice, not only for the purpose (as father Sotelo said in one of his letters to the Senate), of admiring the beauty of the city and the glory of its virtues, but also in order to pay

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<sup>41</sup> The copy of the diploma relative to his ceremony is in Appendix III, No. 1.

homage to the majesty of the Senate and to request some sign of liberality for the young church of Japan.

Other valuable documents were found in the state archives of Venice; the letters which Hasekura and father Sotelo, wrote on 6th January, 1615, to the Doge of Venice (Appendix II, No. 18). In these letters the two envoys say that they anxiously desired to see Venice, but not being able to do so for want of time and the inclemency of the season, they beg to send in their name one of their suite, father Gregorio Mattia, who was a Venetian by birth, requesting this mission might be given a kindly reception in consideration of the good propositions and affection of Date Masamune, king of Oshu, for the Senate of the Republic. They affirm that Venice was well known and esteemed by the Japanese people for its glory and virtue. They sent the Senate a small Japanese table as a present.

Father Mattia was received with much honor by the Republic; his expenses were defrayed by the Senate, who also presented him with a gold chain and a medal of Saint Marcs (Appendix II, No. 14) and gave him likewise a crucifix and two silver lamps (Appendix II, No. 15) for the daimiō of Ōshu and gave order to Carlo Albano, Venetian Consul at Genoa, to call upon Hasekura when the latter should pass through that city on his return to Spain and to thank him for the mission and do him honor in the name of the Republic.

The reception extended to father Gregorio Mattia and the presents of the Republic, were gratefully acknowledged by the Japanese envoys, which is proved by another document (Appendix II, No. 17) now extant in the State archives of Venice, and in which the warmest thanks are conveyed to the Senate, and the original also bears the signatures of Hasekura and of father Sotelo.

In this letter the envoys say that the receptions and the gifts were the more appreciated because extended in their absence; that their sovereign would learn of these occur-

rences as a happy beginning to strengthen his sincere and eternal friendship and the mutual relations of the two states, more especially so as "a direct way of communication would soon be opened between Japan and Europe," and finally they say that father Gregorio, tired of travelling, will return to his native country and they recommend him to the Republic.

This letter was written at Genoa, where, as it appears from another document taken from those archives (Appendix II, No. 16), the ambassadors remained during a few days previous to their returning to Spain to embark for their country, following the same way they had come by.

#### RETURN OF THE EMBASSY.

The envoys soon started on their return to Japan. Nothing of importance seems to have occurred, or at least there are no records accessible that give more than the bare statement of their return. They must have been delayed at some place, as they discharged the purpose of their mission at Rome in the latter part of 1615, and turned their faces homewards a few months after, and yet Hasekura does not arrive at Sendai until Aug. 1620. It is likely that they loitered in the sunny climes of southern Europe and Mexico, and were perhaps delayed by waiting for boats and favorable weather. Sotelo is chronicled as being at Manila in 1618, and it is possible that Hasekura was there at the same time. But whether the two envoys separated here, or before reaching this point, they did not go to Japan together. In the year 2 of Genwa (1616) Date dispatched another messenger to learn the fate of his former ones, but nothing came of this step.

Persecution was raging in Japan, and the famous decree of wholesale expulsion was issued, January 1614, just a few months after the departure of the mission. Hasekura of course learned of all this during his wanderings, and perhaps

voluntarily remained at Manila until he could receive assurance of safety if he should again set foot on Japanese soil. Finally in the midsummer of 1620 his guns were heard firing off the coast opposite Sendai and <sup>42</sup> the travelers came in with their number reduced from sixty to twelve.

#### FATE OF SOTELO.

With regard to Sotelo's final destiny there is no uncertainty. Our Italian author describes his end as follows:—

Refusing to obey the Council of Indies, who wanted to send him back to Mexico, and desiring to assume the functions of a Pontifical Legate in Japan, father Sotelo secretly left Manila, and, disguised as a merchant, repaired to Nagasaki on board a Chinese vessel. But betrayed by the captain he was given up to the Japanese authorities, together with father Lodovico Bava, another member of the embassy, and both were condemned to death and burnt alive in Omura (Shimabara) on the 25th August, 1624.

Dragged with ropes round their necks to the funeral pile, father Sotelo, father Bava and three other monks were tied to five poles fixed upon a huge pile of wood. They were all dressed in the habit of the order, and according to documentary evidence still extant they all mounted the fatal steps, their countenance very pale, but calm and resigned to their fate. They all had a crucifix in hand.

Father Sotelo, when requested by the commissioner to give his name and that of his four companions for the purpose of establishing their identity, took advantage of the occasion to express in Japanese, a language he was thoroughly

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<sup>42</sup> In *Kinjo Hion* it is stated this was the signal agreed on when he left. He had been absent so long that for several days the people along shore did not answer as no one understood. When a reply was sent the vessel came in.

conversant with, a few words of peace and of faith ; but the commissioner wrathfully had him and the others secured to the poles ; father Sotelo was purposely very loosely tied, so as to be enabled by the intensity of the pain to perform to their cruel satisfaction unbecoming contortions, and the fire was kept back as much as possible so that his sufferings might last longer, and one of the last to expire was poor father Sotelo.

The church after his beatification raised him to the honour of the altars as one of the Japanese saints. Thus was rendered the last but the most solemn tribute of gratitude to the memory of an enterprising monk, whom both zeal of religion and an instinctive foresight of the highest interests of civilisation and commerce had flung from the happy shores of his native Spain to those so distant and so fatal of the empire of the rising sun.<sup>43</sup>

#### FATE OF HASEKURA.

The history of Hasekura's last days is not at all so clear, but testimony, both Japanese and foreign, is about unanimous that he abjured Christianity after his return. Indeed it is openly stated that he never was a Christian, but only professed Christianity for diplomatic reasons, as otherwise he would not be received by crowned heads in

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<sup>43</sup> Sotelo had never reached Sendai again, as he met his fate down south. When seized he told the judge that he was Date's ambassador and that he had come to deliver the dispatches sent by the foreign monarchs. He was patiently heard, but Sotelo himself never delivered them. If ever delivered they are not extant, or at least not accessible. After Hasekura reached Sendai in 1620, Date wrote to the Shogun and said Sotelo had asked permission to return to Japan to bring some dispatches from European potentates. Date seemed indifferent in the matter and said he would notify Sotelo whatever the Shogun decided, but the Shogun's answer is not known.



Europe.<sup>44</sup> He came back when Date was making diabolical efforts to stamp out Christianity in his principality, if not of his own will, at least at the desire and command of the Shogun. He was displeased at Hasekura's accepting another faith and it is said that then Hasekura apostatised.

There are many conflicting statements about Hasekura's latter end. One is that he was killed for being a Christian;<sup>45</sup> another, that he was not killed, but allowed to commit *hara-kiri*. Another, that he was not a Christian himself, but allowed his wife and children to be so, and consequently all of them were killed; another, that he was not a Christian himself but allowed his servant to be so and so both were killed; still another passes over into the miraculous, and says he was to be crucified, but when he mounted the platform he was caught up by an invisible power and carried away, and never seen afterwards; another, that he became a lunatic and fled to the forests; another, that he was examined by order of the Shogun and found to be a Buddhist and not a Christian, and had never at heart been a Christian, but had used Christianity as a cloak, and in consequence of this investigation he was not disturbed afterwards.

This last seems the most reasonable with regard to all the contradictory information. The other views perhaps grew out of efforts to explain why the family lost their rank. Hasekura held high position and received large grants, but after a few generations his descendants were reduced to almost the lowest grade of the Samurai caste.<sup>46</sup> It would be family pride, exceptional among almost any people, that would not seek to put the cause of such misfor-

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<sup>44</sup> Appendix III, No. 2. There are no contemporary documents relating to him except his letter from Luzon and his death certificate, at least not known if there are.

<sup>45</sup> Prof. Nitobe takes this view, *U. S. and Japan* p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Even now under the changed conditions they have not been able to advance in any degree towards their former place.

tune on some one else, or as far back as possible. It would be easy, and it would appeal to the imagination to attribute the loss to Hasekura's firm adherence to his convictions, and this would indirectly throw the blame on another. If Hasekura's grandson is to be trusted<sup>47</sup> the family suffered because one of Hasekura's sons became a follower of the western church, and as a result all the family was degraded and disgraced.<sup>48</sup>

#### OBJECT OF THE EMBASSY.

Whether Date or Ieyasu was the mainspring in this enterprise does not affect the more important enquiry as to the object of the Japanese in sending this embassy. Japan at her own desire had been in a state of isolation up to the latter part of 16th century. Then for a period of fifty years the barriers had been partly removed here and there. Afterward the old spirit of exclusiveness returned in stronger force, and outsiders were rigidly shut out. At no time during this brief period had there been shown any cordial desire to have the stranger. Japan became so sensitive about foreign influences as to begin an active and heartless crusade against her own citizens who had become Christians. In the midst of this movement, and just half a year before the feeling against Christianity reaches its culmination in the order for wholesale expulsion, Date starts this expedition bearing presents, and letters freighted with expressions of friendship

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendix III, No. 2.

<sup>48</sup> The priests believed that Hasekura denied the Christian teachings, and thus saved his life. But he died shortly after a natural death. Page's, vol. I, p. 443. Tradition affirms that he died a Buddhist and was buried in Sendai. There is a peculiar grave stone there marked "banri Ichijo no Tetsu"—"ten thousand-mile—iron—line." but it cannot be established that this refers to Hasekura.

and good will to the very heads of that "hated sect." Judging him by western standards we should confidently expect to find some clear definite statement of his motives, or rather a defence for doing what appeared to be in exact opposition to the whole course of life in his country. His reasons, if ever formally stated, are not to be obtained at present, and so each one is left to his own individual opinion.

There are three general views which may be summarised<sup>49</sup> as follows, and argument can be readily urged for each one. First, he was as he said, sincerely desirous of becoming a Christian, and of seeing all his subjects Christians, and he sent his envoys to seek the protection of the Pope. This is a view perhaps widely accepted by the priests at the time, and Date's friendship for them, and his protection of Sotelo when Sotelo was about to be killed in Tōkyō, and above all the strong assertions in his letters, all give support to this view. But it will be seen<sup>50</sup> that the Jesuit Bishop did not believe that Date was moved entirely by a religious aim.

The second view is that Date was prompted by ambition and sent his vassal as a spy to observe European politics.<sup>51</sup> Japan was closed to him as a battlefield and he wanted to try his strength on foreign soil. All the early part of his life had been passed in bloody struggles, and inaction chafed his spirit. The powerful repressive hand of Ieyasu prevented further strife in Japan, and the conflict with Korea was ended. Date's samurai lay around in idleness and hungered

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<sup>49</sup> Given in substance by Mr. Okaka Masayuki, of the Historical Bureau, in the Proceedings of the Historical Society, during the course of the year 1891.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix II, No. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Professor Nitobe accepts this view. *U. S. and Japan*, p. 15. It is also the official statement presented to the Shogun. See Murray's *Hand-book of Japan*. p. 82.

for the clash of swords and the shouts of combatants. His jealousy was also aroused by the expedition of a southern baron to the Loochoo islands and he inwardly burned to do something in emulation.

It may excite a smile at his ignorant presumption in seeking to attack lands so distant, and so much more powerful than himself, but we must remember he could only judge by what he knew. He had seen his own arms triumphant in all northern Japan, and the only foreign country he knew of, Korea, had been overrun and subjugated by Japanese soldiers. The few foreigners that had come to the empire, had come humbly begging for permission to trade and had been content with whatever privileges that were granted them. They were rebuffed, insulted, thrown into jail, roughly restricted to a few ports, and even sent out of the land, and yet their country had done nothing. They were all divided into two great classes, merchants and priests, one in the Japanese eyes meanly submitted to everything for the sake of religion, and the other for the sake of trade. Neither motive could have moved a haughty samurai to anything but contempt. From either class of representatives in Japan, Date could have reasonably inferred that all Europe was a cringing, cowardly people.

As a corollary to this view, it is argued, probably through a mixture of blind admiration for Date and hatred of Christianity, that Date's desire was not so much to seize territory as to destroy Christianity. The priests had come to Japan and had taught principles of love and equality for all. Such doctrines if fully accepted meant the overthrow of the caste system. The feeling against this new faith was already very bitter, and Date as a farseeing man wanted to dig up the deadly tree by its roots. But this contention, it must be confessed, makes out Date to be rather chimerical in his projects and not at all the practical man such a soldier would logically be.

There is a poem ascribed to Date that contains sentiments agreeable to this idea of a religious crusade :

Jahō kuni wo mayowashite tonayete oyedzu, Bankoku wo seisento hosshite imada kōwonasazu, Tonan no hōyoku nan no toki ka furuwan, Hisashiku matsu fuyō banri no kaze.

“The bad religion charms the people, and does not cease. We wish to overcome the barbarous nations, but we have not yet succeeded. Oh! when will the south-subduing wings be spread? I have long waited for the ten thousand ri (mile) gale.”

The third view, which is accepted, and placed on a more liberal basis by a modern scholar,<sup>52</sup> puts Date in a much more favorable light. According to their view he wanted to introduce into Japan through the missionaries and merchants, all the suitable methods and appliances of western civilisation, and thus develope the land. In a word he wanted to do then what Japan did not undertake to do until over two centuries afterwards. He was a prophet far ahead of his age. In his letters he distinctly states he wants commerce, and the jealous Jesuit bishop gives him credit for that. As he asked for additional members of the Franciscan order, it is presumed he wanted them to teach the Japanese, and train them after European models. Of the three views, this is the most flattering to Date's memory and it is supported by about as much evidence as either of the other two.

#### RESULTS OF THE EMBASSY.

As to the results of this seven years of wandering by sea and land, the matter can be disposed of very briefly. So far as an outsider can judge, and so far as the records show, it is only an interesting historical epiode. It likely did not swerve Japan one hair's breadth from her policy of

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<sup>52</sup> Mr Okada, in Proceedings of Historical Society for year 1891.

isolation. As far as influencing the course of Christianity, if it did anything, it helped its downfall, as Hasekura cast aside his profession of the faith, and declared that Christianity in Europe was only a show. Since foreigners have settled in Sendai in the last twenty years, they have found scarcely a vestige of foreign impress in either the life or language of the people. Even the names of martyrs and places of torture have all gone into oblivion. The relics themselves brought from Rome were all unknown save to a few officers of the Date house, and when they were first exposed to inspection in 1876, they were the amazement of the common people.

Our Italian author calmly sums up the whole matter of both embassies :

Thus remained without any consequence the two Japanese Embassies that were sent to Europe by princes of the South and North, during that short period when Japan was open to foreigners, towards the end of the XVI and the beginning of the XVII centuries.

## APPENDIX I.

## BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RELICS.

The embassy carried many presents to Europe, and brought back a goodly number in return. They were probably kept concealed for fear of exciting anger at that time of persecution. It is very likely that some of the objects have been lost and it is certain that some have passed out of the possession of the family,<sup>53</sup> there were some 19 volumes of Japanese preserved in the collection at the beginning of this century when *Kinjo Hion* was first compiled. These are no longer to be found.<sup>54</sup> On the occa-

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<sup>53</sup> The oil painting of the pope is now in the hands of a merchant, Fujisaki Saburosuke, on Nichome Omachi, in Sendai. How it left the control of the original owner, no one knows. The present owner very courteously showed it to the author. It is said that some one offered it for sale in Yokohama several years since, but wanted an exorbitant price for it, and found no buyer.

<sup>54</sup> It is supposed these were prepared by Hasekura, and contained his account of the journey and his views on Christianity. As the latter subject was treated it placed condemnation on all, and no one dared read them and they were possibly destroyed. The editor of *Kinjo Hion* sagely remarks that as there was no written list of the objects from the start no one can say how many have slipped away, and in a fatherly way he advises all who wish to keep a number of objects for any length of time to be sure to put among them an exact list of all of them.

sion of the emperor's northern visit in 1876, they were all exhibited to the public. They were kept in Sendai several years and then deposited in the Ueno Museum in Tōkyō until 1891. Then the family again claimed them in order to show to the Russian Prince at the time of his unfortunate trip to Japan. They are now in the family *yashiki* at Shinagawa, Tōkyō.<sup>55</sup> Our Italian author has a short description of these objects, beginning with the Latin diploma given Hasekura. Mr. T. R. H. McClatchie, of the English Legation, thus describes it: "This document is written on parchment, a small part of which was torn and is now lost, together with the seal and the signatures. The writing is all around trimmed in by most elegant ornaments, in the centre of which, on the superior part, there is a miniature representing various oriental nations subjected to the supremacy of Rome. To the right of this miniature are painted Romulus and Remus sucking the she-wolf, on the left a scutcheon bearing the letters S. P. Q. R. On the corners on the right of the superior and inferior part of the ornament are drawn three coat-of-arms with trophies, scutcheons, helmets, and mantles, which must undoubtedly be the coat-of-arms of the three guardians of the 'benign city' mentioned in the diploma. On the superior corner to the left there is a most curious coat-of-arms without helmet or mantle, although a little crown is placed above the scutcheon blazoned in black and silver. Now, as it was customary at that epoch to place in the Italian diplomas the scutcheon of the person for whom the diploma was made, just on the superior corner on the left side of the ornament, there is no doubt that this was meant to represent the coat-of-arms of Hasekura Rokuyemon. It is surmounted by two arrows placed cross-way, and has the form of one of the two figures which are used in Japan to represent the 'manshij,'

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<sup>55</sup> With the great kindness of Count Date the author was allowed to see the relics in the summer of 1892.



and the two arrows represent some Japanese device. Now, can Hasekura have had these two devices combined as his own private coat-of-arms, or did the Italian artist wish to give to the Hasekura's coat-of-arms a European form, for the sake of symmetry only? This question is now to be investigated in Sendai and I could not express any opinion on the subject, not having inspected the document, but simply read the translation which I present." (Appendix III, No. 1.)

"Beside the Hasekura's Diploma, other valuable souvenirs of Hasekura's sojourn in Rome were lately discovered in Japan and collected by Mr. Hirai, secretary to the Daijōkwan (Historical Bureau) in Tōkyō. The principal of these in importance is the portrait (half the natural size), of Hasekura himself, painted on canvass four feet by three in size. The canvass is rather torn on the edges and the paint cracked here and there, but the work could be completely restored. Hasekura is represented in a kneeling posture, his hands crossed upon his breast, before a crucifix standing upon a table. The state of the colouring does not at first sight permit to discover whether Hasekura is dressed in the Japanese or the European style, but his costume appears to be mixed, because some details of his dress are not Japanese, while his belt and sword are most decidedly so. On one finger he wears a European ring, but his hair is cut and dressed in the old Japanese style and he wears short mustaches over his lips. His features are regular and symmetrical, and the expression of his face, although very serious, is pleasant.

"Another small painting on copper, representing the Holy Virgin with the Babe, and the Eternal Father above, and many angels and saints around them, was found together with the portrait. They also found two bronze crucifixes very rusty and decayed, one of which seems to be a most remarkable specimen of art; and a large number of rosaries, medals, fragments in silver with devout inscriptions, suits

of clothes for priests and laymen, and a variety of horse trappings, viz : saddles, curbs, stirrups, etc., all of which evidently manufactured in Europe in the sixteenth century." There are also several short swords, and a flagellating cord, and embroidered cloth, and some painting on silk.

## APPENDIX II.

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### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EMBASSY.

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#### DATE'S LETTER (IN LATIN) TO THE POPE.

Magni et universalis sanctissimique totius orbis Patris Domini Papal Pauli V pedes cum profunda summiss et reverentia osculando Idate Masamune in imperio Japonico Rex voxu suppliciter dicimus.

Cum venisset Pater frater Ludovicus Sotelo ordinis sancti Francisci religiosus ad meum regnum et in es christianam legem praedicâsset meque invisisset ab eoque eam audiui et mysteria multa quae deritu sunt et coremonias. Christianam appernit quae sane in corde recondens et persecutans cognoscens vera esse et salubria susciperem profitende, nisi me aliqua negotia deturbarent et inexcusabiles causæ detinerent. Si tamen pro nunc ego non valcam cupio saltem meas gentes subditos populos christianos fieri. Hoc ut feliciter eveniat, ad me mitas quæso, Beatissime Pater, Religiosos ordinis sancti Francisci, qui de observantia nuncupantur: hos enim praecipue diligo et obsecio. Tua vero Altitudo ipsis ample concedere non horreat omnes licentios, favores et qualcumque alia media necessaria. Ego autem jam terrano hanc ingressos adjuvare non desistans, sed in monasteriis aedificandis, et, in aliis rebus, quibus potero beneficiis inserviam. Similiterque expostulo ut in meo regno disponas, gubernes instituas omnia eaque ad

propagandam sanctam dei legem utilia fore tibi placuerint, praecipue ut in eo instituas et creco quemdam magnum proclatum instanter supplico cujus observantia et sollicitudine omnes qui in eo inhabitant, quampridie christianos fieri non dubito. De ipsius antem expensis et redditibus ne quaeso anxius sis : quia ut copiose fiat nostrae sollicitudinis et curae proprium esse volumus.

Cujus rei causa ad te mitto praefatum Fratrem Ludovicum, Sotelo, legatum meum, a quo possis de corde meo quae tibi visa fuerint *sciscitari*, optime namque novit quae in ea praedicta in eo sunt et haec ut effectum habeant, ipsi legatoroganter misso benevolas aures concedat et honorem praebat, Tuae Beatitudo Cui etiam comitabitur quidam nobilis eques domus meae qui Hasekura Rokuyemon nominatus, qui similiter Legatus meus existit, ut ambo mei viceo agentes obsequii et obedientiae causa ad sanctissimam usque romanam curiam praeventientes tuos beatissimos pedes pro me osculentur. Et si forte praedictus Pater Frater Ludovicus Sotelo in via fuerit vita functus, quilibet alius ab ipso designatus, similiter ut Legatus a te admittatur tanquam si ipse viveret.

Cognovi praeterea quod meum a Novae Hispaniae Regnis quae potestati additioni potentissimi Regis Hispaniae Philippi subsunt, non multum distat qua propter cum desideris communicandi cum ipso et cum illis christianorum regnis ejus amicitiam coopto quod equidem sic fore confido, si Tua Auctoritas interveniat. Precibus humiliter peto ut hoc Altitudo incipiat et ad finem usque perducatur, maxime quia necessaria via religionis a te in hoc regnum missio est. Prae omnibus pro me orabis omnipotentem deum ut ad ejus amicitiam valeam pervenire. Si autem in hoc regno, aliqua videris tuo obsequio et voluntati gratiosa, jubeat Altitudo Tua quoniam ut voluntati respondeamus totis viribus adimplebimus—Nunc autem licet exigua sint dona, quia tamen ex longinqua regione adveniunt, cum reverentia et timore pauca ex Japone Tibi offero. In omnibus aliis nos remittimus ad praedictum Patrem Sotelo et

equitem Rokuyemon, et ea quae ex parte nostra tractaverint et rata fecerint, ipsa rata esse volumus. Ex civitate et curia nostra Sendai, anno decimo octavo aetatis Keicho, quarto die lunae nonae, id est, anno salutis millesimo sexcentesimo tertio decimo, pridie nonas Octobris. Matsudaira Mutsuno Kami. Idate Masamune.<sup>56</sup>

[*Translation of the above.*]

"I, Date Massamune, King of Oshu in the empire of Japan, while kissing, with the most profound submission and reverence the feet of His Holiness Paul the Great, the universal and holy father of the world, say as a suppliant:

"Father Luigi Sotelo, a monk of the order of Saint Francis, having come to my kingdom and here preached the Catholic faith to my subjects, has called upon me. I have thus by his means been enabled to get a good insight of your religion, as he exposed to me the numerous mysteries connected with Christian rites and ceremonies.

"I have impressed these doctrines upon my heart, for I found them to be true and salutary and would not have hesitated to openly profess them, if certain arguments had not hindered, and invincible motives had not forcibly kept me from so doing.

"But if I am personally prevented for the moment, I desire that at least my subjects may now become Christians. With this end in view, I beg Your Holiness will send me

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<sup>56</sup>The above letter was copied from a fac-simile in the possession of the Date family made from the original in Italy by the Japanese embassy a few years ago. It will be noticed that the signature is "Idate" instead of simple "Date" as now. The explanation is obscure. It is said that was the family custom at the time; and again, that it was a wrong pronunciation that misled Sotelo, and still again, that it was a special mark of honor to the person addressed. It is urged in confirmation of this last that when Date sent his poetical productions to the emperor he always signed himself "Idate" to show his reverence, and so he used the same in sending a communication to the Pope.

some monks of the order of Saint Francis, called of the "Osservanza" whom I pledge my word to harbour and to protect, being assured that they will be venerated by my subjects. I also beg Your Holiness to condescend in giving them privileges, favours and anything that might concur to their success as to me, from the very moment they shall set foot on my territory, I shall consider myself duty bound to protect them, to assist them in erecting their convents and grant all privileges that are in my power.

"I, moreover, beg Your Holiness will kindly dispose of, govern and establish within my dominions anything Your Holiness might think useful for the propagation of the holy laws of God, and especially designate and appoint a great prelate through whose zeal and under whose direction, all the inhabitants might be converted without delay to the Christian religion. As to the expenses of the prelate and the competency to be assigned to him, Your Holiness need not mind as I shall abundantly provide for him, wishing to assume the entire responsibility of this step.

"To this effect I sent to you as an ambassador Father Luigi Sotelo, from whom you will get a better knowledge of my disposition on the subject, and therefore I beg Your Holiness will please kindly listen to all he has to say and treat him with due honour.

"This monk is accompanied by an illustrious gentleman who belongs to my house, called Hasekura Rokuyemon, whom I have also appointed as ambassador, so that they both may repair to the holy city for the purpose of bringing to Your Holiness my homage and submission. And if it happened that Father Sotelo should die on the voyage, it is my desire that any other person designated by him be admitted to your presence with the same power as ambassador.

"I have also learnt that my kingdom is not very far from the kingdoms of New Spain, which forms part of the dominions of the most powerful Filippo, King of Spain.

And for this reason being very anxious to enter into relation with him and with his Christian States, I ardently desire his friendship, and I have no doubt to obtain this end if you help me with the weight of your authority ; I humbly entreat Your Holiness therefore to assist me in my efforts to carry out my undertaking, more especially as those kingdoms are on the route which the monks you will send to me must necessarily follow to come to Japan.

"Above all I entreat you to pray the almighty God so that I may be acceptable to His divine majesty. Were there anything in our country which should be useful or agreeable to you, please let us know and we shall do everything in our power to satisfy your desire. For the present I simply beg Your Holiness will accept a few modest gifts which I send you with the greatest reverence and respect. For all the rest we thoroughly rely on our ambassadors and shall ratify any thing they may conclude in our name.

"From our city and court of Sendai, the XVIII year of the Keicho era, on the IVth day of the IXth month, that is the 6th October, 1613.

"Massundayra, Mussu-no-Kami, Date Massamune."<sup>57</sup>

DOCUMENT NO. 2.

"Date Massamune, prince of Ōshu, to the city of Sevilla.

"To the most famous amongst the nations of the world and to the very illustrious city of Sevilla.

"By the special providence of God, Father Luidi Sotelo having come to our realms, we have known the excellent truths of the divine faith and of the religion which we deem to be holy and good and the true and certain path to salvation. We have therefore long desired to assume the obligation to observe it and to receive the legitimate title of a Christian by means of the holy baptism, but not being

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<sup>57</sup> This translation is translated from the Italian of Berchet.

able to do so at present on account of very important preoccupations, we desire that all our subjects of whatsoever rank and station may embrace the law of God and of the Christians; which we hope to see realized by the efforts and zeal of Father Sotelo and of a gentleman of our family called Hassekura Rokuyemon, both chosen by me to officiate as ambassadors to the supreme chief of the Christians, to Him whose people call Pope, and whom they adore as the vicar of Christ on this earth.

“Knowing most particularly the greatness and richness of your illustrious republic, the native country of Father Sotelo, we have conceived for your Lordships a great and particular affection, since the holy man who procured us the foundation of the doctrine and of the laws of God derives, as a precious branch, from the noble stem of Sevilla.

“We beg you to receive our message in the same spirit as we have already received you into our friendship, now and for ever, and be pleased to trust us and send us some valid testimony of it, which we shall for ever keep in our royal archives; and in this we anticipate you by forwarding herewith a token of our sympathy; namely, a sword and a poniard, which are the most valuable scutcheons of our Royal person. And the best token of your appreciation shall be for us to receive, help and protect our Envoyes so that they may be enabled to reach before the presence of the great and powerful king of Spain and to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, great monarch of the Christian republic, and in order that the latter, according to our just desire, and with all that clemency and benevolence we are hoping for, may allow us, by means of the holy faith we desire to embrace, to submit our crown and all our subjects to the holy church, and to acknowledge him to be spiritually above all other princes as a lieutenant of God.

“For a long time we have heard of a large number of vessels from your country trading in the Indian and southern ocean, guided by pilots well instructed in the art



of navigation and also well acquainted with the different seas; and being anxious to know whether we could open direct communications between these and the Spanish seas, and which ports should be put into and what are the intermediate climates, we would be very happy to see those pilots out here so that they might impart unto us the fruits of their experience and wisdom and in order that this navigation being possible, we may order our vessels to accomplish it every year, which would afford us more frequent opportunity to manifest our good will to you.

"Father Sotelo will beside add verbally all what we have omitted for brevity sake. Please have confidence in him and let him know at the same time in what way we could be useful to you, our constant desire being to serve your Lordship.

"Given at our court at Sendai the 9th month of the 18th year of the Keicho era, which correspond to the 22nd October 1613.

"DATE MASAMUNE MATSUDAYRA MUTSUNO KAMI."<sup>58</sup>

### No. 3.

FROM MASAMUNE TO PHILIPP III, KING OF SPAIN.

"4th day of 9th month of 18th year Keicho.

(Oct. 6, 1613).

"DEAR SIR :

"I write you with greatest reverence. I heard you are the king who rules a large kingdom. I was told by batelen Sotelo of your great power, and I thought of communicating to you. Last year *Bisoby* of Novispania sent *General Bastian Hisugai* to our Emperor as a messenger. The messenger came to my province and told me that Novispania is not very distant from my country across the sea. And

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<sup>58</sup> Translated from the Italian of Berchet. The original Latin is not accessible.

now I send you Father Sotelo as a messenger. Some time ago the Japanese Emperor thought of sending Sotelo to Europe as a messenger, but Sotelo got sick suddenly and the matter was stopped, and another batelen was sent in the place of Sotelo. But now Sotelo is quite well, and I send him this time.

"I heard from Sotelo something about Christianity, and strongly believe that it is a very good religion. But there is a great obstacle to my becoming a Christian. I wish, however, to make all my vassals Christians, and, in order to do this, I wish you to send some batelens who belong to the order of Saint Francis. I will treat them kindly.

"In order to make communication with you in future I got ships made, and sent them to Novispania. Please send the batelens in these ships. I shall send ships there every year. If you protect my ships in Novispania, I shall be very much obliged to you. Please listen to my people in the ships, and help them, as far as you can. Arrange matters for them, so that they can freely stop at suitable places and give them passports.

"When your ships come here to my country I shall treat them in the same way. When these ships which go from Luzon to Novispania stop here, I shall treat them very liberally. In the case of mending ships, I will supply the tools necessary, and in making new ships I will give wood.

"I propose, in the other paper, the articles for our agreement. Sotelo will tell you in detail. If Sotelo dies on the way, one whom Sotelo would choose will take his place and tell you everything. I have besides sent you a Samurai. I give you five Japanese utensils as a small present. Hear from the batelen about the small things.

"Yours truly,

"DATE MASAMUNE."

Articles of agreement between Masamune and the king of Spain. Appended to the above.

1. I have no objection to my people becoming Christians. Send me therefore some batelens who belong to the order of Saint Francis. I will treat them kindly.

2. Send batelens every year. I have sent this time some ships to Novispania. I send you some Japanese things. Please be sure to send me some things of your own next time for my use.

3. *When my ships come back, you can send in them people or anything for nothing.* If my ships are broken there, please give my men things necessary to mend them.

4. When ships from Luzon to Novispania pass our country I will protect the people. If ships are broken I will supply tools to mend them and other things. In the case that ships are rebuilt I will equally take care.

5. When you (your people) want to make ships in my country I will supply wood, iron, carpenters and other things necessary, according as the circumstances require.

6. When ships come here from your country I will allow them to trade freely, and treat the people kindly.

7. When people of Namban come to live here, I will give them houses and other things. In case some of them do anything wrong, I will refer the matter to their own headman, and look to him to deal out justice to the wrongdoer.

8. If the English and Dutch, who are your enemies, come here, we will not respect them. Sotelo will tell you in detail about this.

9. Having once agreed to these articles, our agreement should be perpetual.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> This letter is taken from *Hanso Seiseki*. (1) *Batelen* is perhaps Japanese spelling for *Padre*.

(2) *Novispania* is *Nova Hispania*. (3) *Namban* is literally *southern country*, as the foreign ship usually came from the south when approaching Japan, and so *Namban* meant all European lands.

## No. 4.

## A LETTER FROM DATE MASAMUNE TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

The precise number of letters sent by Date Masamune to European potentates is not known. Already some five or six have been made public, and now, through the researches of Mr. Okada Masayuki in Sendai, a hitherto unpublished epistle has been brought to light. By this it appears that, like the normal Japanese, Date Masamune valued the secondary benefits of Christianity at a higher price than its primary. The following is a free translation of the document, the original of which may be found in Proceedings of the Historical Society:—

“Sept. 4th, 1613, A.D.

“To His Majesty PHILIP III., King of Spain.

“With profound respect I venture to address your Majesty. Last year I was made acquainted with your Majesty's great power by the Rev. Mr. Louis Loter, and was very desirous of communicating with you when a messenger from the Governor of Mexico, General Bastian Hisugai, reached our country. From him I heard that your august country was nearer Japan than Mexico (!) and hence decided to send a letter to you by Mr. Loter. This priest was to have been sent to you last year by the Bakufu, but his illness necessitated the substitution of another messenger. Mr. Loter having recovered, I now send him to you. I have heard through him of the way of the true God and hold it in high regard; but there are obstacles in the way of the Christian faith being accepted by the whole nation. I, for my part, however, will promote the propagation of the faith among the people under my jurisdiction. In order to effect this, please send priests of the Franciscan sect; I will attend to their wants. In order to facilitate the coming

of these priests, I am now fitting out a ship to send to Mexico; please allow the priests to come in this vessel. I intend to send a ship to Mexico once a year and beg that you will see that those who have charge of the ship are treated kindly and that their wants are supplied. I also beg that you will give orders to the authorities in all places beneath your rule that our ships be treated with consideration, and that you will furnish us with passports to all parts of your dominion, specially to Mexico, Luzon, Macao, and the Malabar Coast. In return for this, any ships belonging to you that may call here shall be supplied with all that they need. The particulars in which we can assist each other's vessels are specified in a separate document. Any information not given in this letter, the bearer, Mr. Loter, will supply. If Mr. Loter should die on the voyage, other priests will communicate with you. I also send you one of my retainers. I forward at the same time five kinds of utensils."

The items of the agreement as given in an appendix to the letter are as follow :

- "(1) We agree to join the Christian Church, and hence wish Franciscan priests to be sent to us.
- (2) We promise to send a ship to Mexico every year to convey priests to Japan. In these ships we will forward to you our native implements, and do you in return send us yours. I myself intend to use such implements as you send.
- (3) We engage to supply your ships with men and other things considered necessary.
- (4) We will pay special attention to any of your ships that may call here on their way from Mexico to Luzon.
- (5) If you should wish to build ships in this country, we will supply you with all the necessary material.
- (6) We undertake to assist the trade carried on by ships coming to this country.

(7) If any of your nationals come here, we will furnish them with houses. If any dispute arise between them, we will defer the matter to the decision of their own nationals. We hear that you are at enmity with England and Holland. These countries we shall not honour.

"The above has been decided on after conference with my retainers, by me, Date Masamune."<sup>60</sup>

### No 5.

THE LETTER OF MASAMUNE TO GENERAL KOMISALIO, A MEMBER  
OF THE ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS IN NOVISPANIA.

"4th day of 9th month of 18th year of Keicho.  
(Oct. 4, 1613).

"DEAR SIR :

"Christianity was introduced to our country some time ago, but I did not know anything about it before. I have learned from Sotelo what it really is, and found it is a very good doctrine. I am sorry that I am hindered from becoming a Christian by an obstacle. I have no objection to my vassals becoming Christians.

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<sup>60</sup> The above is from *The Japan Daily Mail*, Yokohama, Thursday, November 19, 1891. By *Loter* is of course meant *Sotelo*. Anyone will be at once struck by the great similarity between this and the preceding letter. Making allowance for difference of phraseology in the translation, the meaning is almost the same. As seen above this is an original document, yet it very closely resembles in meaning the preceding letter, which was published in 1875, six years before this one came out. The date of the two letters is the same. This one is dated Sept. 4, 1613, but the original Japanese is 4th day of 9th month of 18th year of Keicho, and this in the western calendar becomes Oct. 6, 1613. It seems a little singular that Date should have written two letters of same meaning, same date, and addressed to same person, but no one could enter with confidence upon a discussion of the evidence except one acquainted with written Japanese. Perhaps this letter No 4, is an exact copy of the original, while the preceding one, taken from *Hanso Seiseki*, may not have been so exact.

I send to the King of further Namban and Roman Pope Sotelo and three Samurai, one of whom has to go to further Namban with a letter. I wish you to protect him so that he can safely travel to further Namban. These two will come back from your country. It will be very long before Sotelo comes back to me. I wish therefore you would send me some batelen belonging to Saint Francis order in *Horobentia* of *St. Ewanzeria*. I heard you are of head priests. Please introduce my messenger to Bizoley. Give them also your letter of introduction to other batelens, kings, and Pope. And give passports to one who has to go to further Namban, and also to the others who come back from you. When batelens come to my country, I will establish churches for them. Consult further with Bizoley to make navigation easier. I give you three Japanese tools as a small present. Sotelo will tell you in detail.

“Yours truly,

“DATE MASAMUNE.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> This letter is taken from *Hanso Seiseki*. *Batelen* means *padre*. In *Hanso Seiseki* are ten letters sent by Date to the different persons in the western world. All are same date except last two, which were written in 1616 when Date sent another messenger to learn about first one. He then sent two letters, one to the head of the San Franciscan order and the other to *Bisolay* of Novispania (governor of Mexico?). In substance these two are the same and contain enquiries about Sotelo, and expressions of friendship.

The other eight letters are same date (Oct. 6, 1613) and in substance are practically the same. The originals of all of them, except perhaps the first, were found in the possession of Mr. Ishimoto, a member of an old Samurai family living a few miles from Sendai, but corresponding copies have come to light in Europe and America for only two (perhaps three) out of the entire ten—for the one to the pope, and the one to the city of Seville. It seems very likely that Date must have sent a despatch to the King of Spain,

## No. 6.

## LETTER OF HASEKURA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

"I understand that a man who has the good luck to have been born in a memorable epoch and who wants to civilize his own country is always brave and joyful in his heart.

"Wishing to civilize myself first, I came to these shores from a very distant country, and having to-day at last succeeded in obtaining a presentation to His Majesty, I have been enabled to see the light that shines upon a

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and in Page's history (p. 380) it is said that Hasekura presented his despatch, but in Page's appendix (p. 132) the letter is not stated as coming from Date but from Hasekura.

The ten letters are addressed to the following persons, but the greatest allowance must be made for the spelling in changing from Japanese to English :

1st to *Sekiyashita*. In *Hanso Seiseki* this is said to be a copy from the original preserved in Rome (?), but it is so faded that parts of the letter and even the name above could not be made out. The body of the letter is also said to be very poor in style, and the presumption is raised that perhaps it was not written by a Japanese but by a catholic priest.

2nd letter to King of Spain.

3rd to the Pope.

4th to Head of San Franciscans.

5th to General Komisalio of the *Intens* (Indies ?) of Spain :

6th to Bisolay of Novispania.

7th to General Komisalio of the San Franciscans in Novispania.

8th to the Governor of Horrohenshia in Santoewanjerio.

9th to Bisolay of Novispania (written in 1616).

10th to the Head of San Franciscans (written in 1616). Of these, the letter to the Pope (No. 3), that to the King of Spain (No. 2) and that to Komisalio (No. 5) are given in this Appendix. It seemed unnecessary to give all as they are so nearly alike in substance.



very large part of our world. The joy and contentment for which make me entirely forget all I suffered during my long voyage on sea and land.

"I come from a country called Japan, governed by our Emperor and known to the world as one of the most distant.

"Two are the causes which led my prince to send me to these countries :

"I. Knowing the true light of the holy catholic religion, which pacifies the hearts of men and teaches how to govern the States, my prince decided to send me to the Pope of Rome and ask Him to give me special instructions for the benefit of the Christian missionaries now in Japan who are displaying the greatest enthusiasm in the great work of diffusing the faith. And such is the desire not only of my prince but of all his subjects likewise, as we all are anxious to embrace the Christian faith.

"Knowing the generous dispositions of Your Majesty, my prince sent me here to urge the contraction of a treaty of perpetual friendship.

"Now I am very happy to have arrived in this country and to have been honoured with an audience by Your Majesty.

"I humbly beg that Your Majesty may, in consideration of all the hardships I underwent, extend to me your protection by assisting at the ceremony of my christening ; for I hesitated so long to be baptized, solely for the purpose of showing my countrymen that baptism is really a very serious affair."

## II.

### *The answer of King Philip the Third.*

"I am very glad to hear that our holy religion has extended to your distant country.

"I have always heard that the Japanese people are among the most intelligent in the whole world.

"Now I quite perceive it; and think that the idea of sending an ambassador to us to obtain a true knowledge of the holy religion, has been a splendid conception. I am greatly pleased with it and I shall give all possible assistance so that you may be enabled to accomplish your mission and satisfy the desire of your prince.

"As to the treaty of friendship and alliance, I accept it with great pleasure, and in a few days we shall decide about it.

"And with reference to the ceremony of your Christening, I shall be most happy to assist personally at it and shall give orders so that everything be properly carried out."<sup>62</sup>

#### No. 7.

#### DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE EMBASSY OF DATE MASAMUNE.

##### *Letter from the Bishop of Japan to the Jesuits' General.*

"Last year you were informed that the commerce between Japan and New Spain lately established through the exertions of a few Franciscan monks had been completely destroyed, owing to the sinking at Varangava in the Kingdom of Quanto of a small vessel which carried a small number of Japanese to New Spain, as ambassadors without necessity.

"What happened afterwards is that the captain having, in spite of all exertions, utterly failed in obtaining the money for the necessary repairs, was obliged to sell it to a Japanese for a sum of 90 crowns. After which the

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<sup>62</sup> This and the following documents (Nos. 6 to 19 both inclusive) are from Berchet. Those in Latin Nos. 17, 18 and 19, are not translated into English, as the substance of them is stated in the body of the work.

master of the vessel made arrangements with some Japanese merchants to have a new ship built, so that they might be enabled to continue their voyage; and the said ship being now ready for sea, the Rev. gentleman who had been sent here as a general of our order has taken his passage in it, together with a few Spanish passengers, among whom there is a Franciscan monk called Louis Sotelo, who, it is said, is sent as ambassador to Rome by a Japanese gentleman named Masamune, a subject of the King of Japan but lord of several provinces, with the ostensible object of requesting both His Majesty and His Holiness to send over here missionaries to preach the gospel in his dominions, but who, as a matter of fact, only does it on the expectation of great material advantages by the arrival of the Spanish ships to his ports; should the request of the said ambassador be granted, great inconvenience may be expected not only for these Christians but for the Franciscan monks likewise for having taken a principal part in this transaction. This is the reason why the father Jesuits out here did all they could during these last months to prevent not only the Embassy but also the voyage of father Sotelo to New Spain, and worked hard but unsuccessfully to have him into their hands and send him to Magniglia (Manila?). I am told now that, as the superiors could not prevent his going to New Spain, they have informed the Commissioner General to Mexico of the little foundation of the Embassy and of the dangers which may issue if successful, as the lord of Tenza (Tenshi?) and the prince his son do not wish the Franciscan monks to build churches in *Quanto*; nay, that the former has already written to the viceroy of New Spain that it is not religion but commerce he wants. And we fear therefore, and with good cause, that should any further mission of Franciscan monks or any other mission land here, it might greatly exasperate the King against them and Masamune, whose real object in wanting the mission in his estates will

then become too manifest ; and as the King is already very distrustful of the Spaniards for reasons we have explained to you before, he may be led to suspect there exists some ominous alliance between them and Masamune, and give vent to his indignation by causing the total ruin of the latter, whose estates are entirely dependent on the King's good-will, who may deprive him of them as well as of his life whenever he should think it convenient do to so. I wrote to His Majesty about everything deserving prudence and reflection with regard to this embassy, and now I do the same to you, so that, if needful, you may inform His Holiness lest through lack of reliable information on the real import of this Embassy, they may send over here an expedition that might endanger the interests of the church and the authority of the Pope.

“ 5th, October, 1613.”

(Manuscript joined to the Despatch, 31st October, 1615, sent from Rome by the Venetian ambassador Simone Contarini.)

No. 8.

VISIT AND COMPLIMENT PAID TO TWO AMBASSADORS OF THE KING OF OSHU IN THE ISLAND OF JAPAN ON THEIR ARRIVAL AT GENOA ON THE 12TH OCTOBER, 1615.

The Senate having heard that two ambassadors from one of the reigning sovereigns of Japan had just arrived from Spain and were lodged at the monastery of the “*Annonciata del guastato*” resolved to send them a delegation of four gentlemen to welcome them in the name of the Senate and greet them with the title of “*Illustrissimi*.” One of the ambassadors was a Japanese called Don Filippo Faxicura, the other one a Spaniard of Sevilla called Luigi Sotelo, a Franciscan monk of the order of the “*Osservanza*,” and both were going to Rome with a suite of twenty-eight gentlemen, mostly Japanese, to make act of obedience, in

the name of their sovereign, to His Holiness the Pope, having previously written from Savona to the Senate of Genoa requesting permission to land.

The deputation chosen by the Senate was composed of Oratio Lercars; G. B. Baliano; Nicolo Inorena; Paroli and Francesco Serra, who, having assembled as usual on "San Luca" square and being accompanied by a vice chancellor, two target guards and twenty German soldiers in cape and sword, repaired to the said monastery of the Annonciata, where they were met by Father Sotelo, near the entrance of the dormitory, who accompanied them to the door of their apartments. The Japanese ambassador received them a few steps from the door and having entered and being accomodated with seats, Signor Oratio, as the eldest of the Deputation, addressed them in a few chosen words. After which gifts were exchanged. The interpreter of the Deputation, Doctor Scipione Amati, translated into Spanish all what the deputies had said, which Father Sotelo immediately expressed in a low voice in Japanese to the other ambassador and the latter replied, and Father Sotelo interpreted for him in Spanish, thanking those gentlemen for the courtesies, honors and compliments done to them and added that he would give information of everything to his sovereign, by whom he had been particularly instructed to call upon the noble Senate of Genoa, well remembering the honors and compliments paid thirty years before to other Japanese Ambassadors who happened to pass through Genoa, and said he would also give his sovereign a written account of everything *notable* in the city of Genoa, and after a few more compliments he begged the commission would obtain from the Senate the concession of the three following requests, namely: To be excused for having been anticipated by their Lordships in paying the due compliments. That as they were carrying in the name of their king, presents to His Holiness the Pope, consisting of sacerdotal ornaments, alter vases and other

beautiful things peculiar to their country, they begged that everything should be let pass free of the usual custom duties, and their boxes should not be opened, just as had been done wherever they had passed. And finally that the Senate should recommend the interests of the Embassy to the Genoese Cardinals on account of their being identical with those of His Holiness and the catholic faith.

The commissioners replied that they would submit their requests to the Senate, whereupon they retired and were accompanied by the Japanese ambassador a few steps further than the place where he had received them ; that is, as far as the corner of the dormitory, and by Father Sotelo and the rest of the Embassy to the very end of it.

On the afternoon the Ambassadors went to the Palace to return their visit to the commissioners, who were then assembled in the Senate. They were received on the top of the stair by two secretaries and conducted into the Senate hall and seated on the throne beside his "Serenity" the Doge, upon two velvet chairs. The Japanese sat on the right and the Spaniard on the left. The former having taken off his hat and greeted the assembly, addressed them in Japanese, but in such a low voice that they could scarcely hear the sound of it, and constantly keeping his face turned towards the Spaniard, who translated it afterwards into Spanish in a most accomplished manner, showing himself to be a very able and prudent man. His "Serenity" the Doge answered him in complimentary terms and always addressed him with the same title of "Illustrissimo."

They took leave by bowing to the assembled Senators, who returned the salute by removing their caps, and bending their heads, without however rising from their seats.

The two Secretaries accompanied them down stairs, and having got on a litter they were taken on board a galley of Dón Carlo Doria, which was ready to start for Civista Vecchia.

In ascending and descending the stairs of the Senate they were accompanied by a guard of German halberdiers.

The Senate ordered the Custom authorities to let pass free of duty the baggage of the Embassy ; they were not instructed however not to open them.

All those Japanese, except one, were of low stature, of a yellowish, almost olive tint, small eyes, with little or no beard ; in their features they resemble each other very much. The dress of the Ambassador consisted of a gown which almost reached his feet but not very large, made of black velvet, and above it another, a much shorter one, with short large sleeves, made of black silk ; yellow silk stockings ; leather shoes resembling a glove, that is with the big toe incased separately from the rest, and a black felt hat on his head. The other Japanese were dressed the same but not so richly and without the long (?) gown. The ambassador and his suite wore their hair close-shaved on the top of the head, but so long on the temples that they turned them up on the back and tied them with a piece of silk string after the manner of a turned up tail. The ambassador also wore to his belt a kind of scymitar about two inches long, which the Japanese call "Katana."

His followers also wore a weapon of the same form and quality, but wore moreover, either in their hand or on one side, another but much longer one which they also call "Katana."

His courtiers made use in eating of two small chopsticks, two-thirds of an foot long, about as thick as our writing pen-holder, with which they very dexterously can bring to their mouth whatsoever they are eating.

The other Ambassador, that is, Father Sotelo, was dressed as a Franciscan monk belonging to the order of the "Osservanti dell annunziata del Guastato."

## No 9.

## A DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

“The Japanese ambassador, conducted by Franciscan monks, has reached here and is lodged in the tower of Aracoeli; his expenses, amounting to 30 crowns a day, are defrayed by the Pope, who has also appointed officers of the Palace to wait on him. Last Thursday he made his public entrance in Rome and, except the cardinals’ mules and hats which are always sent to welcome the other royal ambassadors, the reception was a very brilliant one. The ambassadors of France and Spain sent representatives to do him homage and I thought it convenient to do the same; he was very pleased, and told my secretary he did not know he would have met at this court the ambassadors of such a powerful state, and added that as soon as he is ready with the Palace he should call upon me.

“He is a man of rather low size; stout and of a dark colour; with an almost square face; he is clean shaved but wears tresses on his head; he is about 46 years of age; he has with him a retinue of 27 persons, looking uncommonly like their master; it took him two years to accomplish the voyage from his country; he is a Christian, having been baptized. I have heard he has brought several presents to His Catholic Majesty and also to His Holiness the Pope. They say that he has made a request to be provided with 200 monks to instruct his sovereign and the people in our religion; and shows a great devotion to the Pope. A Spanish Franciscan monk who has come with him, acts as interpreter.

“What appears to be very singular in this occurrence is the dislike, not to say the vexation, shown by the Rev. Father Jesuits at the arrival of this personage into Christian countries, and they say that he is not an ambassador of the Emperor of Japan but of one of his subjects called Masamune.



“For the better information of your Lordships I enclose hereby a letter written by the Jesuits in Japan, who maintain this to be only a masquerade and also that the Franciscan monks in Japan were at all times the staunch companions of Masamune’s debauch.

“Rome, 31st October, 1615.

“SIMON CONTARINI, AMB.”

No. 10.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

“The Pope received last Tuesday the Japanese Envoy in solemn audience in one of the halls built by Clement VIII. He wore the stole only, beside his usual dress and was surrounded by all those cardinals who felt inclined to attend.

“A Franciscan monk made a very able exposition of the Embassy, and said that his king wanted a prelate to instruct him and also a number of Missionaries; that his king, being next in power and dignity to the Emperor, he would endeavour to supplant him, and then he would not only declare himself an obedient Christian to the church of Rome but would compel afterwards all other princes in his country to do the same. Most of the people here in Rome think there are other interests at the bottom of this affair. The ambassador is now visiting the cardinals and sent me word that he should wait upon me immediately he has done with them. He has with him one of our subjects, a man from Liesena, who has been in those countries for over 20 years and who says he wants to see his people. If I have been rightly informed, it appears as if the ambassador wanted to visit the republic.

“Rome, 7th November, 1615.

“SIMON CONTARINI, AMB.”

## No. 11.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

“MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE :

“This Japanese ambassador, together with a barefooted Franciscan monk from Sevilla, a colleague of the embassy, has called upon me, accompanied by the Pope’s Officers in attendance and a number of his people. His expressions as interpreted by the monk were indeed highly flattering for the republic and for myself. I answered him praising his king, his person and the Christian purpose that has brought him here, and told him Your Highness would be very pleased to hear of the good dispositions of his prince in embracing our holy faith and, as we were surrounded by all sorts of people, I added that such an important and worthy object would receive a particular help by the piety, zeal and infinite devotion of our present Pontiff, who would certainly not fail to beg from God all sorts of blessings for his King and Kingdom. And as they mentioned the favors they had received from His Majesty the King of Spain, I said also of the latter what I thought would have pleased those around me. The monk related to me many things about those countries, but did not mention that he intended visiting Venice as he did to others ; according to all appearances they left me quite satisfied.

“Rome, 21st November, 1615.

“SIMON CONTARINI, AMB.”

## No. 12.

## XLV.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

“MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE :

“I returned the visit of the Japanese ambassador. He told me that, owing to pressure of time, not wishing to lose the opportunity of embarking during this year for his

country, and as he must speedily set out for Spain, he should not be able to go to Venice to present his homages to Your Highness on the occasion of your accession to power, over which he expressed his satisfaction in the most flattering terms. He told me that he should however send one of his gentlemen and a couple of secretaries to pay his respects to you. He also said that his king is thoroughly informed of the beauties and wonders of Venice, of which he sometimes speaks with great honour and satisfaction.

“If the interpreter is sincere, he shows in his discourses to possess much ability and prudence.

“Rome, 26th December, 1615.

“SIMON CONTARINI, AMB.”

No. 13.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

“The Japanese ambassador has departed; he begged me a few days ago for a letter of introduction to Your Highness for two of his followers, one a Japanese and the other from Liesena, a subject of the Republic, who has lived for twenty years in those countries. He told me they had several requests to make, one for building a church in Japan, another to establish, to your eternal glory, a hospital for poor Christians, and the most modest of the three, namely, to provide them with some chalices and sacred books. But having reminded him of his immediate departure and the impossibility of those things ever reaching Japan if they could not be got ready at once, the monk informed me two days afterwards that he had changed his mind on the subject and that he would not send anybody to Venice, being sure that I would let you know of his affection and the attachment of his king for you and the Republic, and now we are rid of this embarrassment too. I understand that the ambassador

has not been quite satisfied with the result of his mission to the Pope, because out of three requests one only seems to have been granted, and that also to a certain extent only. The ambassador had begged His Holiness to receive under His protection Date Masamune as a sovereign prince who was on the way to ascend the throne of the Mikado, but to this the Pope answered that he would consult with the king of Spain on the subject before deciding. From this we discover two things: one, that he does not want to grant the request, because it is quite to be expected that the king of Spain will be more inclined to make that kingdom a dependency of his own crown rather than the Pope's; the other, that he is afraid to offend the catholic king with a resolution that would be quite proper for him to take. The second request was that the Pope should appoint a catholic bishop for Japan, which was not done; and the third that he should send a number of monks to propagate the Christian faith, and the Pope replied that he would write to that effect to His Nuncio in Spain and see what could be done. His Holiness, however, presented the Japanese envoy with one thousand gold ducats and with many religious objects, some of them very valuable.

“Rome, 9th January, 1616.

“SIMON CONTARINI, AMB.”

No. 14.

DELIBERATION OF THE VENETIAN SENATE.

1615 (1616) 23rd January in Pregadi.

The ambassador of Masamune, King of Vōshu in Japan, having at his departure for his country sent to this city Don Gregorio Mattia, a gentleman of his suite, provided with letters for the Senate and with a little table of Indian manufacture destined as a present to the Senate, the latter in order to express its gratitude and also to do honor to

the said Don Gregorio Mattia, has resolved to present the latter with a gold chain and medal bearing the impression of Saint Marco, worth a 100 ducats of 7 lire each, +152-1-2.

Approved in Counsel on the same day, with the addition of 10 ducats more.

### No. 15.

#### DELIBERATION OF THE VENETIAN SENATE.

1615 (1616) 29th January in Pregadi.

Having considered the request made by the Japanese Ambassador that some donations should be sent to the catholic churches in those countries, we have resolved to spend 150 ducats in purchasing a silver cross, or a chalice and patin or anything of the kind, to be placed in one of the catholic churches of Japan +158-7-7.

Approved in Counsel on the 20th January.

### No. 16.

Visit and compliment paid to the two illustrious Ambassadors of the King of Oshiu in the island of Japan on their return to Genoa.

The Senate having heard that the two Japanese envoys of the King of Oshiu, who had returned from Rome on their way home and were lodged at the convent of "Le Nontiatà del Guastato," gave instructions that they should again be called upon by four gentlemen of the Senate and addressed again as "Illustrissimi." The four deputies, led by Magnifico Stefano Carmagusla, went to the Convent and met the Ambassadors in the new apartments just above the gate of the "Stanze."

As they took leave they were accompanied out of the gate through the "Loggia."

The Japanese Ambassador, being indisposed, did not return the visit for some time; but when he and Father Sotelo called upon His Highness they were received with honor and addressed as "Illustrissimi;" they sat opposite to His Highness, and when they left they were accompanied two or three steps out of the Hall.

## No. 17.

LETTER OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE  
DOGE OF VENICE.

"SERENISSIME DUX :

"Cum e remotissimis Japonum regionibus nomine Regis. Voxij ad hanc sanctissimam Romanae Ecclesiae sedem abedientiam prestitui venissemus, Serenissimam Rempublicam visendi maiorem imodum exoptavimus, non solum aldificios fama et virtutum gloria, verum etiam Senatsu magnificentia et tot illustrium virorum claritate. Verum itineris importunitate et hiemis rigore nunc ad Hispaniarum Regiam reversuri tam cptatum iter Liguriam versus commutavimus. Ne autem nostrae voluntatis ae Idatis Masamunis regis Voxij erga Rempublicam benevolentiae testimonium transiret occultum, Gregoris Matthiani huins Serenissimi Senatus subditum huinsmodi officia exhibituram mittendum indicavimus, tamquam nostrae legationis comitem et ex Japonis Imperio egressum, cui aures humaniter prestare dignetur, nostrique intuitu benevoli excipiat cumque alique beneficiorum genere complectatur. Quaeomnia ut nobis grata ita Serenissimae Reipublicae largitas clarius emicabit, ac in Japonio Imperio virtutum et gloriae laude exornata vehementius in Principum illorum animis insidebit. Ex Japonio delatum munus Altitudini vestrae Senenissimae exiguum licet offerre decrevi, ut huius Serenissimi Senatus etiam largitas ubique gentium

comendata Japonicis quoque regnis innotescat Serenitatem ergo vestram Deusque maximus quam diutissime tueatur incolumen, ac Serenissimae Reipublicae terminos quam latissime proferat. Romae sexta die Januarii 1616.

“ Altitudinis vestrae Serenissimae seriai humillimi.

“ DON FILIPPO FRANC. HAXECURA.

“ LUDOVICUS SOTELO.”

No. 18.

LETTER OF FATHER SOTELO TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

“ SERENISSIME DUX :

“ Cum Japonicis partibus diu permansissem, animam gentilium conversioni addictus, Rex Voxij Idates Masamunes in imperio Japonico potentissimo ad hanc sanctissimam sedem apostolicam legatum designavit, nominavit, constituit legationis munere perfunctus hanc serenissimam Rempublicam visendi studiosus, officiis omnibus consulendum putavi, ut propensae voluntatis argumentum altitudini vestrae innotescant. Quam Gregorium Matthiam domus nostrae praefectum Serenissimi Senatus subditum mitto, ut meo nomine Altitudinem vestram Serenissimam incolumem dicat, ac Japonium reversurus aliquo liberalitatis munere novam illarum partium succrescentem Ecclesiam adinvet ; nec non dictum Gregorium in omnibus uti nostrae legationis utilem comitem benevoli tractare, ac beneficiorum aliquo genere complecti dignetur. Quod mihi ac novae illi Ecclesiae vehementer acceptum ac Serenissimae Reipublicae egregium testimonium accedet, si quod diutissime videndum putavi, illud idem liberalitatis doni videatur ad impletum. Haec ut legationis etiam ad futura, ita jucundissima perpetuo vivant, omnibus Christi

fidelibus relatura, maximan huius serenissimae Senatus admirationem indicabunt. Vale Princeps Seremissime meque humilem servum inter benevola numerato.

“Romae die 6 Januarii 1616. Altitudini vestrae Serenissimae.

“FR. LUDVICUS SOTELO.”

LETTER OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE VENETIAN SENATE.

“S. C. R. SENATUS :

“Benignitas, amplitudo et magnificentia Venetorum ubique Terrarum cognita, extrenue apud nos in regressu Gregori Matthiae nuntiantis nobis laetitiam et humanitatem maximam qua honorifice fuit exceptus et a Serenissimo Senatus exanditus, expeditus ac remuneratus, tradidit etiam praeclara ac pulcherrima numera, Sanctam Crucem et lampadam; argentea dona sed aurea celebrandaque liberalitatis ac benevolentia Voluntas; eo potius aestimanda quo non ad presentes, sed ad absentes nuntios est exhibita, impeditos tamen, ac non parum dolentes caruisse Serenitatis Vestrae ex longissima Japonis regione tam desiderata, verumtamen quod tempus oculis videre non licuit in praeclaris donis charitatis et amicitiae plenis mentis intuitu percipimus ac maximo cordis affectu congratulamur; gratias simili agentes pro litteris ac mandato exhibito Illustrissimo Domino Carolo Albano Consuli hic existenti, utinviseremus quod fideliter et exacte exequutus nos maximopere honoravit, ditavit quae haec inquam Regis nostri Idate Massamuni auribus intimata, quam gratissima ac ex speculibus litteris tuis recognita fore atque ad veram et perpetuam amicitiam ac communicationem contraendam cum Serenissimo ac nobilissimo Senatu sive Republica praeclararum initium esse putamus; maxime si (divinis auspiciis) ut intendimus recta via ex Japonia in Europam apriatur; interim eandem amicitiam Serenitatis vestrae, ut gratissimum referemus Regi ac Deum



nostrum Ecclesia illa pro conservatione, felicitate et augmento Serenitatis vestrae deprecabitur, ut debet, donec haec felicia exordia indesideratum effectum convertantur; predictus Gregorius fatigatus ex prolixo itinere, et peregrinatione regreditum in patriam subditus tam magni, ac Serenissimi Senatus, ac alias benemeritus gratissimum erit, cum ipse multum a nobis diligatur si quam munifice a vestra Serenitate, ut moris est honoretur et amplectatur, quam Deus etc. Germae die XXIII Februarii, Anno M. D. C. XVI.

“Serenitatis vestrae ac Excellentissimi Senatus.

“DON FILIXE FRANCISCO.

“FASI CURA RECOIENDONO.

“FR. LUIS SOTELO.”

## APPENDIX III.

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### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HASEKURA.

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#### No. 1.

##### HASEKURA'S CERTIFICATE OF ROMAN CITIZENSHIP.

“ Quod Ludoviens Rentius vincentius Mentus de Papazurris  
Jacobus vellius almae urbis

##### “ CONSERVATORES

“ De illust<sup>mo</sup> et excell<sup>mo</sup> Philippo Francisco Faxecura  
Rocuyemon Romana civitate donando ad senatum retulere  
S. P. Q. R. de ea re ita fieri censuit :—

“ Quod in urbe romana antiquissimis etiam illis regum  
temporibus usitatum est, sequentibus deinde annis respub,  
consuevit, ne nostra quidem aetas omisit, hesteros nempe  
viros, virtute, seu nobilitate insignes ad hanc almam  
urbem ex orbe universo confluentes, S. P. Q. R. non solum  
benigniter, verum etiam munificenter amplexus, illos  
magnitudine romani nominis desuper nativam propriamque  
nobilitatem cohonestando civitate romana donavit : ut vir  
virtute nobilitateque praestantes inter romanos cives adsciti  
magno reipub. nostrae usui atque ornamento fuissent, vel esse  
aliquando possent. Nos igitur antiquissimi morio, nostrumque  
majorum exempli autoritate permoti, non omittendum  
putavimus inter cives, patritiosque romanos adseire illust<sup>rum</sup>

et excell<sup>mum</sup> Philippum Franciscum Faxecura Rocuyemon ex civitate seu curia Sandai regni Voxu in Jappone ortum: cum ipse ex tam lingonquis et remotissimis regionibus ad hanc almam urbem venerit orator ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum Paulum Quintum Burghesium Romanum Pontificem maximum pro serenissimo Idate Masamune rege Voxu in imperio Japponico ut Romanum pontificem catholicae et universalis ecclesiae pastorem, totius orbis. parentem et Jesu Christi Filii Dei Omnipotentis vicarium ea qua decet reverentia venerando ad accipiendam dicti regis ac regni tutelam, paternamque curam hostaretur. Ea propter S. P. Q. R. ut cum ipso strictissimo amoris nexu colligetur, praefatum illustrissimum et excellentissimum Philippum Franciscum Faxecura Rocuyemon amplissimo munere Romanae civitatis decorandum et in senator ordinem merito co-optandum censuit. Quam voluntatem ac sententiam singulari omnium consensu ac laetitia comprobata per scribas ejusdem saeri senatus in publicas litteras ad alterram memoriam referri eidem S. P. Q. R. ita placuit, ut beneficium, honoremque non magis dare quam accipere videatur. Anno ab urbe condita MMCCCLXVI. et ab orbe redempto MDCXVII Kal. Decembris."<sup>63</sup>

While the following is not a literal translation it is a sufficiently accurate rendering of the above Latin and possesses a historical interest of its own.<sup>64</sup>

"Whereas Ldovicus Rentius, Vincentius Mutus de Papaz urris and Jacobus Vellius, guardians of the Benign City,

<sup>63</sup> This is copied from a photograph of the original document.

<sup>64</sup> This translation was prepared at the instance of the Date family in 1891 in order to show the Crown Prince of Russia, when his visit to Japan was shortened by the attempt made upon his life at Otsu by the fanatical Japanese policeman. The Prince was to go to the house of Date at Shinagawa, Tokyo, and view all the interesting relics brought from Rome. All of these objects had previously been stored in the Ueno Museum (Hakubutsu-Kwan) Tokyo, but were withdrawn by the family to be exhibited to the Russian Prince.

have made a report to the Senate regarding the presentation of the citizenship of Rome to the most illustrious and excellent Philip Francis Faxecura Rokuyemon, and the people of Rome have decreed in this matter as follows. That is to say :—

“The custom observed in the most ancient city of Rome, even in the period of the kings and afterwards practised in the following years of the Republic, our own time also has not neglected, and the Senate and People of Rome have received not only with kindness but with munificence even men of yesterday eminent by their virtue or nobleness who have assembled in this Benign City from the entire world, and bestowing on them, in addition to their native and inborn nobleness, the greatness of the Roman name, have conferred on them the Roman citizenship, so that men who excelled in virtue and nobleness being enrolled among Roman citizens were or might thereafter be of great advantage and ornament to our Republic. We therefore, influenced by the authority of the example of our ancestors and of this most ancient custom, deem that we ought not to neglect to enlist among the citizens and patricians of Rome the most illustrious and excellent Philip Francis Faxecura Rokuyemon, born in the state or court of Sendai in the Kingdom of Voxu (Oshiu) in Japan : since he has an Envoy to our most Holy Lord. Paul the Fifth (Barghese), Pontifex Maximus (Pope) of Rome from the most serene King of Voxu in the Empire of Japan, in order to persuade with all due reverence the Roman Pontifex, Pastor of the Catholic and Universal Church, and Vicar of Jesus Christ the Son of Almighty God, to receive under his paternal care and protection the said King and Kingdom. For the above reasons the Senate and people of Rome, to the end that they may be united to him with the closest bonds of love, have decreed to adorn the aforesaid most illustrious and excellent Philip Francis Faxecura Rokuyemon with the most ample gift of Roman citizenship, and to elect him, as he deserves, into the Senatorial Order. Now this will and judgment having been approved with the

singular unanimity and rejoicing of all, it has pleased the same Senate and people of Rome that it should be handed down to eternal memory by the scribes of the said holy Senate in a public document, so that it may appear not more to give than to receive benefit and honor.

“In the year 2366 from the foundation of the city, and the year 1615 from the redemption of the world. On the 12th day before the Kalends of December.”

No 2.

A LETTER FROM ROKUEMON'S GRANDSON TO THE  
LORD OF SENDAI.

“3rd day of 2nd month of 5th year of Empō.  
(Feb. 24, 1677.)

“MY DEAR LORD :

I am your hereditary vassal. During the age of Bunchi when Yoritomo marched to Ōshū, Munemura and his son overthrew Sato's camp at Ishinazaka. My ancestor under Muneinura killed Kawabe, Iga, and others. For this, he was given Hasekura and Yamaguchi, two places in Date gori, and since then his family name has been Hasekura. His descendants have been all vassals of the lord of Sendai. I do not know how many generations there were from my first ancestor to Rokuemon, or how much allowance they received from their masters. Rokuemon, my grandfather, was given sixty Kan (1 kan=present 1 cho=2.5 acres of land) and 243 mon (thousands of a kan). Lord Masamune sent him to Namban in the 18th year of Keicho (1613). Rokuemon was not Christian, but he was compelled to become a believer, because otherwise he could not see the king and get the answer to the letter of Masamune. Eight years after, when he had finished his business, he came back in the 6th year of Genna (1620). He died in July of the 8th year of Genna (1622). His

son, Hasekura Kanzaburo, succeeded Rokuemon, getting the same amount from the lord, and called himself Rokuemon. While Gizan sama (son of Masamune, afterward 2nd lord of Sendai) lived yet as an inheritance the young Rokuemon served for him. During the reign of the 2nd lord, some one in Yedo (present Tōkyō) told the government that the young Rokuemon was a Christian. The Government sent a man to catch him. But the fact (that Rokuemon was not believer) was explained, and therefore he was not punished. Gonshirō, brother of the young Rokuemon, became a believer, and escaped to other district. On this account Rokuemon (the younger) was sentenced to commit suicide on the first day of 3d month of 17th year of Kan-ei, (April 11, 1640) and his allowance taken away. I, the son of the young Rokuemon, was four years old at that time, was rescued from being killed. I had to live with Baba, a brother of my mother. By the request of all my relations I was allowed and became free on the 23rd day of 4th month of 7th year of Kambun. (June 4, 1667). I was given a salary of 5 kan and 167 mon on the 3d day of 6th month of year the 8th of Kambun (July 1, 1668).

“Your most faithful servant,

“HASEKURA MATABEI.”

No. 3

DEATH OF HASEKURA ROKUEMON, WHO WAS SUSPECTED  
OF BEING A CHRISTIAN.

“29th, 5th year of Kyōhō (1720).

“DEAR SIR,

“Hasekura Rokuemon served for Gizan Sama, the second lord of Sendai (son of Masamune), as a member of the O-Oban-Gumi. Some one in Tōkyō appealed to the Tokugawa government that Rokuemon knew where Bateren

were. The government ordered the lord to examine Rokuemon in 16th year of Kan-ei (1639). A meeting was held to consult on this matter. It was found that Hasekura was a native of Sendai, he was a member of Kōmyōji, a Buddhist temple on Kitayama, and that he had never been a Christian and consequently had not known where Bateria had been. But a servant of Hasekura, Tarazaemon, was a believer and communicated with other Christians. Hasekura did not know this, and was blamed for allowing it, and so was killed on 1st day of 3d month of 17th year of Kwanei (April 11, 1640) and buried in the ground of Kōmyōji. He was forty-two years old. This is what is judged of Hasekura as one who was suspected of being a Christian, and there is no mistake.

“ Your most faithful servant,

“ HASEKURA SABUROBEI.”

“ Sakamoto Hikoshiro, Esq.

“ Miyagi Yoemon, Esq.”<sup>65</sup>

#### BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY.<sup>66</sup>

In the preparation of this paper two sources of authority were made use of, Japanese and European. In composing the first part, Date's life, the material was gathered almost entirely from the Japanese language, through the aid of translations. Also in the second, translation from Italian is freely used. But nearly everything in the second part came originally from European sources. For the whole paper help was mainly derived from the following :—

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<sup>65</sup> By Hasekura above is very likely meant the son of the ambassador to Europe. Hasekura the ambassador is stated by Page's and Japanese authorities to have died shortly after his return from Europe in 1620. It will be seen the preceding letter distinctly says it was the younger Hasekura that was killed in 1640.

<sup>66</sup> The illustrations are from Photographs by Mr. Endo of Sendai.

1st. *Sendai Hanso Seiseki*, "The History of Sendai Han (country). This is a work in five volumes, and, according to the best authorities on Japanese history, contains the fullest and most accurate available information on Date Masamune. It was published in 17th year of Meiji, about eight years ago, and was compiled from all accessible documents. Only a fraction of it is included in this short sketch of Date. The chronicles of the Date family number nearly a thousand volumes in mass and there is other material in the library at Mito, and in the Historical Bureau in Tōkyō. Perhaps some day all of these accumulated documents will be given to the public, but a vast mass of the details will hardly interest any one except the descendants of those who took part in the events narrated.

2nd. *Onan Ken Shiko*, "Notes on sending embassy to the southern country."

In 1876, the present emperor made a tour of northern Japan, and at an exhibition in Sendai the relics brought from Rome were shown to the public. The Emperor was much interested in them and desired that an account of them should be written. So Mr. K. Hirai of the Historical Bureau was delegated to compose a brief history of the embassy. He expressed his regret that such slight material could be found in Japanese. He based his narrative largely on European sources with some help from the Date family chronicles. It is a small work, hardly more than what would be called a pamphlet in English, but popular and interesting. It gives something of a historical setting, but is closely confined to the immediate incident itself. The chief European authorities he followed seem to be Page's, Charlevoix and Crasset. All three have been translated into Japanese; at least the first and last have been.

3rd. *Kinjo Hion*, or Account of Embassy to Southern Country.



This was written in early part of present century, by Mr. Gentaku Otsuki. It remained in MSS. form only until a few years ago, when it was edited and published with notes by Mr. Fumihiko Mago. The additions by the editor form about half of the entire work, and are based largely on European sources of information. The original part was drawn up without such aid and in the editor's view was intended to give an account of the matter, so to speak, from an inside standpoint. The author was the head of the Samurai school of the Date daimiate, and was given all facilities for compiling his work. The family was of decided literary taste and this school remained under the charge of different members until feudalism was abolished. A member of the family is now Director of the Sendai High School, and is also author of a large standard dictionary of the Japanese language.

4th. The principal European sources are originally the letters and annals of the Catholic priests. These sources are chiefly accessible in the works of Charlevoix, Crasset and Page's, the last being chiefly consulted as combining very largely the information in the other two. There is also a short account of Hasekura's diploma, with a French translation, in *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* for 1876-77, a periodical published at Lyons, France. A French priest made his way to Sendai in 1876, and there saw the diploma and other objects. T. R. H. McClatchie also wrote an account of this diploma in the *Tokyo Times*, Jan. 6, 1877.

5th. Liberal use has been made of William Berchet's *Japanese Embassies to Italy* (in Italian), who seems to have followed Page's in part, but he gives documents drawn from Italian archives that throw some side lights on this episode. There are many references in Page's to works in the Italian language, but Berchet alone was almost too full for the limits of this paper.

6th. Hints, facts and suggestions were gleaned from such works as Griffis, Rein, Transactions of Asiatic Society, etc. Jacques-Auguste de Thou's *Historia sui temporis* contains a short account of the embassy from southern Japan, but it was written before Date sent his embassy. There is a French translation in the Imperial University Library. Professor Inazo Nitobe's *United States and Japan*, written by one of the best and most accomplished of the younger race of Japanese scholars, gives a very clear and condensed account of the spread of Christianity in Japan. It seems a marvel that such logical method, such lucidity of arrangement, such good English, could come from one whose native language, even down to the present day, is filled with histories written in the driest of annalistic styles.

Professor B. H. Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* in the way of giving references to European authorities on Japan was found to be almost invaluable. It is too limited to go into details, but it can in nearly every instance point the seeker to the authority.

But it is only vexation to know the authority and not be able to get it. For those who desire to consult European books on Japan there is a sad lack of library facilities in Japan. The authorities are scattered through half a dozen European languages, and it is safe to say there is no accessible library in Japan that has more than a fraction of the authorities in even one language. If one may hazard prediction it may be said that no Japanese library will make a specialty of gathering such works. The mission schools must expend their strength in other directions, so there seems no agency left except the Asiatic Society. By making a systematic effort, with some additional expenditure of funds, a large number of these important authorities can be obtained, and in no way can the Society more fully earn the deep gratitude of all students on Japan than by doing this.

## ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

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BY PERCIVAL LOWELL, ESQ.

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[*Read Feb. 15th, 1893.*]

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### I.

Ontaké in Shinshiu is one of the great sacred peaks of Japan. High as it is, it rises from amid such a mass of mountains that, so far as most foreigners go, it remains invisible and unvisited. Yet upon it every summer faith tells a rosary of ten thousand pilgrims. In August, 1891, I chanced to climb it, and in doing so came unexpectedly upon certain esoteric phenomena which turned out to be as unknown as they were peculiar. Subsequent study proved them to be very widespread, although all looked to the mountain as their holy of holies, and to be convincingly of Shintō, and therefore of purely Japanese origin. They thus possess a twofold importance. For they open a suggestively new vista into psychic phenomena generally, and at the same time they give a glimpse into the past relations of Shintō and Buddhism which amounts to a revelation of the former, by disclosing most unexpectedly how much of what we have fully believed to be Buddhist has been simply baptized bodily by it out of the older faith.

Of Shintō non-esoteric a word or two here will suffice. Shintō, as is well known, is a combination by the Japanese of the worship of nature and of their own ancestors. But the character of the combination is ethnologically instructive. For a lack of psychic development has made of

these seemingly diverse elements a homogeneous whole. Both, of course, are aboriginal instincts. Next to the fear of natural phenomena, in point of primitiveness, comes the fear of one's father; as children and savages show. But races, like individuals, tend to outgrow it as they develop. Now the suggestive thing about the Japanese people is that this passing phase of religion has been perpetuated. The Japanese have stayed boys. Filial respect continued, and, by very virtue of not becoming less, became more, till it filled not only the whole sphere of morals but expanded into the sphere of cosmogony. To the Japanese eye the universe itself took on the paternal look. Parental awe which these people understood lent explanation to natural dread which they did not. Quite simply to their minds the thunder and the wind, the sunshine and the shower were the work not only of anthropomorphic beings but of beings ancestrally related to themselves. In short Shintō, their explanation of things in general, is nothing else than the patriarchal principle projected without perspective into the past, dilating with distance into deity.

That their dead should thus still live on to them is paralleled by the way in which the dead live on in the thought of the young generally. For the idea of personal immortality is not due to the logic of teleology but to the instant inference of unreasoning childhood. The dead do survive in the memories of the living, and it is the natural deduction to clothe this subjective idea with objective existence; a deduction which finds distant analogy in the seeming reality of dreams.

Shintō is thus an adoration of family wraiths or of supposed family wraiths, imaginaries of the first and second order in the analysis of the universe. Buddhism with its ultimate Nirvana is in a sense the antithesis of this. For while simple Shintō regards the truly dead as living, philosophic Buddhism regards the truly living as dead.

Dealing with disembodied spirits in so immaterial a way Shintō has seemed to foreign students little better than the ghost of a belief, far too insubstantial a body of faith to hold a heart. To ticket its gods and pigeon-hole its folklore has appeared to be the end of study of its cult.

Nor is its outward aspect less skeleton-like. With a deal barn of a building for temple, a deal set of plain paraphernalia and, if one may be permitted the expression, a deal of nothing else, its appearance certainly leaves something to be desired. For in all save good puritan souls the religious idea craves sensuous setting. Feeling is the fuel of faith which sights sounds and odors fan into flame. Sense may not be essential to religion but incense is.

Shintō is rich in but one thing—gods. It has as much to worship as it has little to worship with, which is perhaps in keeping with the law of life. It has more gods than its devotees know what to do with. From the goddess of the sun to the gods of particular spots and feelings, few things in heaven or under it stand unrepresented in its catholic pantheon. Popular parlance puts the number at eight myriad; but in Japanese popular parlance “eight” and “myriad” are neither of them mathematical terms but confessions of arithmetical incompetency, expressions rigorously rendered by the phrase: ever so many. Nobody pretends to count the gods. Indeed it would be pious labor lost; for the roll is being constantly increased by promotions from the ranks. Any one at death may become a god, and it is of the entailed responsibilities of greatness that the very exalted must do so.

Of course no mere finite man can worship so infinite a number of deities, though time be to him of Oriental limitlessness. Each makes his choice of intimates and clubs the rest in a single general petition from time to time to prevent accidents. His first choice is made for him by his parents; at baptism, so to speak. For each Japanese has his god-father; not a man who stands to him in that

relation for divine purposes, but a god who does so chiefly for mundane ones. Shortly after birth the babe is presented at the temple and put under the protection of some special deity. The god's preference is not consulted in the affair; he becomes god-father on notification as a matter of course.

Next in importance to the god-father is the god-patron. For every branch of human industry is specially superintended by some god. Man may deem it beneath him to be in business but the gods do not. Each has his trade and spends much time looking after his apprentices. Furthermore each pleasure has a deity with whom its votary is perforce on peculiarly intimate terms. By the help of these various guardians the man is able without inconvenience to remain a life-long boy.

For the rest they are very easy going divinities indeed. They inculcate absolutely no morals whatever. "Obey the Mikado"—the gods' representative, and otherwise "follow your own heart" is the sum of their commands; as parental an injunction as could well be framed. So is the Japanese attitude toward them filially familiar, an attitude which to more teleologic faiths seems shocking irreverence but which appears perfectly natural to them.

It will at once be seen how aboriginal all this is. Childish conceptions embalmed in an exquisite etiquette: so Shintō might have been ticketed.

## II.

But the mythologic mummy showed no evidence of soul. By the soul as opposed to the mere body of belief I mean that informing spirit vouchsafed by direct communion between god and man which all faiths proclaim of themselves and pooh-pooh of all the others. It was this soul that suddenly revealed itself upon Ontaké. By way of

general introduction to the subject I cannot perhaps do more simply than give my own. It was duly dramatic and my connection with the company I met there continued semi-theatrical to the end of the acquaintance.

We were plodding, a companion and I, up the last stretches of the pilgrim path to the summit of the mountain. We had reached the eighth station (for the paths up all high sacred mountains in Japan are divided into ten parts or stations pointed by rest houses) and were tarrying a moment in the grotto-like hut there, counting our heartbeats and wondering how much more of the mountain there might be to come—for thick clouds had cloaked all view on the ascent—when three young men, clad in full pilgrim white, entered the shanty from below and, deaf to the hut-keepers blandishments to stop, passed out again at the upper end; the hut having been astutely contrived to inclose the path, that not even the most ascetic might avoid temptation. The devout look of the trio struck our fancy; so, leaving a few coppers for our tea and cakes amid profuse acknowledgments from the hut-keeper, we passed out after them. We had not climbed above a couple of rods when we came upon our young puritans already at prayer before a shrine cut into the face of the cliff, in the open space in front of which two or three rude benches sat apparently aimlessly about. The three young men had laid aside their hats, mats and staves and showed white fillets binding their shocks of jet-black hair. We stopped on general principles of curiosity, for we had no inkling of what was about to happen. They were simply the most pious young men we had yet met and they interested us.

The prayer, which seemed an ordinary one, soon came to an end, upon which we expected to see the trio pack up and be off again. But instead of this one of them, drawing from his sleeve a *gohei*-wand and certain other implements of religion, seated himself upon one of the benches facing the

shrine and lapsed instantly into a sort of incantation. At the same time a second sat down on a bench facing the first, clasped his hands before his breast and closed his eyes. The third took post reverently near by.

The pantomimic prayer of the one facing the shrine was the most attractively uncouth thing I have ever seen. Intoning continuously certain formulæ, the man bent himself body and soul into tying his fingers into mystic knots, no sooner tied than resolved into others, accompanying each act with a guttural grunt suggestive of intense exertion. The thing certainly looked potent enough to compel wonders.

The strange action of the first was only matched by the strange inaction of the second. The man did not move a muscle; if anything he grew momentarily more statuesque. At last the exorcist paused in his performance and taking the *gohei* wand from beside him on the bench placed it between the other's palms. Then he resumed his incantation, the motionless one as motionless as ever, when suddenly the hands holding the wand began to twitch convulsively; the twitching rapidly increased to a spasmodic throe which momentarily grew more violent till at last the man was in the full fury of a seemingly superhuman paroxysm. You had said the wand shook him, not he it. His convulsions were like those with which the soul takes leave of the body. Then the throe subsided as it had come, leaving a permanent tremor behind. The appearance of the man was unmistakable. He had gone completely out of himself. We stood unwitting witnesses to a trance.

At the first sign of possession the exorcist had ceased incanting and now mutely watched the trance deepen. When the paroxysmal throes had settled into a steady quiver—much as a top does when it goes off to sleep—he leant forward, put a hand on either side the possessed's knees, and in words archaically reverent asked the name of the god who had thus deigned to descend.



At first there was no reply. Then in a voice, strangely unnatural without being exactly artificial, the entranced spoke : "I am Hakkai."

The petitioner bent his head before the divine presence as the god spoke and then, raising his look a little, respectfully preferred what requests he had to make. These were not questions to task the divine intelligence ; the probable state of the weather on the honorable peak, the general outcome of the pilgrimage and the health of those at home. The god made replies of which brevity was the sole wit.

When the man had come to the end of his questionings or else deemed it discreet to desist from further monopolizing of the god's time, he offered a short benediction, and leaning forward touched the man on the breast and then on the back with increasing insistency, until he fairly thumped him. Under this ungodly treatment the man eventually opened his eyes like one awaking from profound sleep. Then the others set to and kneaded his arms, body and legs, cramped in catalepsy, back to a normal state.

No sooner was the ex-god himself again that the trio changed places ; the petitioner moved into the seat of the entranced, the looker-on took the place of the petitioner and the entranced retired to the post of looker-on. Then the whole performance began again from the beginning and went through the same details to a similar possession, a similar interview and a similar awakening.

At the close of the second trance the three once more revolved cyclically and went through the whole thing for the third time. This rotation in office so religiously observed was not the least of the affair's oddities.

When the cycle stood complete, the three friends offered up a concluding prayer and then, donning their outside accoutrements, started on upward.

We met at the summit, and fearing that we might not meet again, we snatched the occasion to beg the unheard of favor of a repetition of the trance for the sake of a photograph; which I mention not for the request but for the instantaneity with which it was granted. The god apparently had no objection to having his picture taken. To be incarnated in a photograph is nothing to one who can be incarnated in a man.

Our fear of parting with our young god-friends proved quite groundless. For on returning to the summit hut after a climb round the crater rim, the first thing to catch our eyes amid its dim religious gloom was the sight of the pious trio once more in the full throes of possession. There were plenty of other pilgrims seated round the cauldron fire, as well as some native meteorologists in an annex who had been exiled there for a month by a paternal government to study the atmospheric conditions of this island in the clouds. Up to the time we met them the weather had been dishearteningly same, consisting of uninterrupted fog, they informed us pathetically. The communicants however paid no attention to them nor to any of the other pilgrims, nor did the rest of the company pay the slightest heed to the communicants; all of which spoke volumes for the commonplaceness of the occurrence.

We again thought we had seen our last of the god and again were we pleurably disappointed. For we were by no means done with him yet.

At half past five the next morning we had hardly finished a shivery preprandial peep at the sunrise before the three indefatigables were up and communing again by way of breakfast, and an hour later we came upon them before the tiptop shrine, hard at it for the fifth time. And all this between four o'clock one afternoon and half past six the next morning. The cycle of three was not always completed, one of the communicants being much

better at the thing than the other two and one much worse, but there were safely ten trances in the few hours that fringed their sleep's oblivion.

And nobody apparently noticed the actions of the three except the meteorologists, who fraternized with us and commented in a superior manner on the senselessness of the proceeding; an imported attitude of mind which was at least diverting.

Considering the small amount of interesting converse obtained, why one interview should not have sufficed remains a religious mystery. Perhaps the others were conversational postscripts. But it seemed a goodly number in which to say so little. Doubtless an inordinate desire for their society is gratifying to the gods, but the frequency of the talks fairly took our breath away though it had no perceptible effect on the young mens' nor on the god's even at that altitude. The god possessed his devotees with comparative ease; which was edifying as far as it went, but the more of the god the less of them eventually. And all this on top of a climb of two miles, straight into the air. In spite of it however these estimable young men were equal to a tramp all over the place during the rest of the morning. They ascended religiously all the crater peaks and descended as piously to all the crater pools—and then started on their climb down and their journey home of three hundred and fifty miles, much of it to be done afoot. That night saw them not only off the mountain but well on their way beyond. How far their holy momentum carried them without stopping I know not, for the last we saw of them was a wave of farewell as they passed the inn where we had put up for the night. But the most surprising part of the endurance lay in the fact that from the moment they began the ascent of the mountain on the early morning of the one day till they were off it on the late afternoon of the next, they eat nothing and drank only water.

Such was my introduction to the society of the gods. One glimpse at it only piqued curiosity to more. No sooner back in town, therefore, than I instituted inquiry about the acquaintanceship I had so strangely made upon the mountain to receive the most convincing assurance of its divine authenticity. The fact of possession was confirmed readily enough, but my desire for a private repetition of the act itself was received at first with some mystery and hesitation. However, with one man after another the difficulty disappeared until I found myself on terms of intimacy with deity, and it was not long before I was holding divine receptions in my own drawing-room. Exalted and exclusive as this best of all society unquestionably was, it proved, I must confess, like more mundane society we agree to call the best, undeniably dull. But, if it thus failed of being intellectually entertaining, it by the same token showed itself every whit the company it purported to be.

### III.

The sum and substance of Esoteric Shintō is divine possession. To this interchange of spirit control are all the phenomena referable. The principle is one though its manifestations be many. For anything under heaven may be possessed by anything above it. It is in short a doctrine of the transmigration of soul, in space instead of in time. Everything has a spirit as well as a body, from gods to gravel. Each spirit (*shinki*) is as separate and particular as the body itself; yet it is capable of indefinite expansion or contraction, of permeating matter and of migrating temporarily from one thing to another. Expansion is more peculiarly the divine attribute, contraction the human, animal or inanimate one. As nearly as aboriginal immateriality may be scientifically expressed, the nature of the gods is of the nature of gas.

Spirit is by no means necessarily good. It is manifest that from the human standpoint some things are harmful,

that is bad and some harmless, that is good. Though in the case of certain animals or even of some inanimate things that have got a bad name or an unmeritedly good one, as the case may be, the reason of the imputed virtue or vice is as difficult to fathom as the cause of the gender in French nouns. Clearly, original sin in this system of ethics is no monopoly of man.

By inevitable analogy the gods themselves are divided into the sheep and the goats. But by a merciful dispensation of some inexplicable cause, the good gods are more potent than the bad, a saving clause common to all religions. This would seem to work through what is called *tamashii*. *Tamashii* is pure soul, whatever that may be. Inasmuch as it permeates and protects the *shinki*, but though mingling with it does not become it, it may perhaps be called a force. Is it the unattributed, imperishable, universal force. Men and gods possess it in varying degrees but only the supreme deity is nothing else.

Now a certain evolutionary process is continually going on by which the bad *shinki* become good and the good, better. It is a process of natural purification. As the *shinki* clarifies, it more and more approaches *tamashii*, until at the end it, or whatever takes its place, is *tamashii*.

The degree of purity determines the amount of possible possession. As bad has affinity for bad and good for good, bad men will be possessed by bad spirits—which accounts for possession by foxes. Or in other words when a man is bewitched it is his own fault.

Possession is primarily the entrance into a body of another's *shinki*, but in cases of superlatively good people *tamashii* descends with it to reinforce it. Possession may be partial, complete or suspended; that is the alien may cohabit with the native *shinki*, whose seat is in the head, or it may drive it out for the time being or it may drive it down into the lower parts of the man, the chest or abdomen. The

spirit that dispossesses is naturally always more powerful than the one to whom the body belongs, but by the above merciful dispensation of providence the good dispossessioners are stronger than the bad.

If this account of the divine nature be found a trifle disjointed and unsatisfactory, the gods are responsible, not I, errors and omissions on my part excepted. For I have it all from one whose authority was nothing short of the god's own words vouchsafed to him in trance. So that my knowledge of the matter is but second-hand divine, much nearer the source of inspiration than I can ever hope, in reason, to come again.

The act of god-possession is known as *kami-oroshi*, *kami-utsushi* or *kami-utsuri*—that is “the causing the god to come down,” “the causing the god to transform” or “god-transformation.” The two first names thus view the thing from the human standpoint, the last from the divine. But this is merely a matter of the temporary point of view, the three expressions and many others, such as *nori-utsuri*, “to change vehicles,” being used indifferently according to the speaker's preference.

This change of vehicle on the part of the *shinti* may take place between any two things in nature, theoretically at least. Nor does such change differ in kind. But for the sake of psychology and not of religion we may consider it under the two aspects of god-possession of things and god-possession of people. The one makes the miracles; the other the incarnations.

The miracles may still further be divided into the subjective-objective and the objective ones, to express the shares in them that persons and things respectively play. The latter are merely the result of undivined physical laws. The former of course bring in the psychic element. As these form in the novitiate the stepping stones to the purely personal possessions it will be well to begin with them.

## IV.

The simplest of the important ones is the *Kugadachi* or Ordeal by Boiling Water.

The word *kugadachi* is archaic Japanese. In Hepburn's dictionary a dagger stabs it obsolete. Further than this the departed is given no character, its meaning being epitaphed solely in *kana*.

It, or something like it, is mentioned in the Kojiki as practiced in prehistoric times. In those direct days it was a touchstone to actual guilt; in these more teleologic ones it is a test of theoretic guilelessness.

The arrangements for the rite are primitively picturesque. A huge iron pot, as it might be some witches' cauldron, is set in the garden or court, and about it is built a magic, not circle, but square. Four cut bamboos, tufted at their tops, are stuck into the ground some eight feet apart. From frond to frond are hung hempen ropes. Facing one side of the square is placed a deal table, on which are set three small deal boxes open on the sides, sacrificial stands to three *gohei*. In front of the middle box is laid a saucer of salt. Behind all this bamboo fronds rise into a background of plumes.

The wood which I have here and elsewhere translated "deal" on account of its appearance, which is simple to a degree, is the *hinoki* or "sun-wood," the *thuya obtusa*, or arbor vitae. Its name sun-wood is thought by some to be due to its having furnished the prehistoric two sticks whose rubbing first brought fire within the reach of man.

Spring water is then brought in and poured into the cauldron. On the occasion when I was shown the miracle I was at this point graciously permitted to put my little finger into the water. I quite fail now to see why I desired to do so, but I am very glad I did. My request turned out a most discreet indiscretion, productive of spiritual significance in the sequel.

A fire was then kindled beneath and we, seculars and regulars, stood round about outside the square waiting for the water to boil.

When at last the steam had begun to rise, the officiating accolyte emerged from a bathhouse, where he had been purifying himself, clad in a single white robe, theoretically white that is, practically a postdiluvian grey, as the rite subsequently sufficiently explained.

As soon as he had entered the mystic square he clapped his hands. This in Japan is the invariable method of calling the god's attention, as also of summoning household servants. It is a touching instance of the familiar terms on which the Japanese stand with their gods, that they should thus indifferently summon divinities and domestics.

He then started to circumambulate the kettle through a whole series of rites, each made up of a wearisomely similar basis of speech and action. Now it is all very well to preach against vain repetitions, but with anthropomorphic gods, as with ordinary mortals, it simply has to be done if one would really succeed in one's request. Those who believe in a man-like god while thinking that they do not and then introduce the Lord's Prayer seven times in the ordinary morning service, practice better than they preach. The Shintôists realize the principle and thoroughly act on it, too thoroughly to suit one who looks impatiently through the ceremony to its accomplished end. Like all good works its real effect is on the worker.

Pantomime and prayer were the double strand on which the more particular beads of rosary were told; uncouth finger twistings and monotonic formulæ pointed by expressive guttural grants. Upon this undercurrent of almost automatic action the man was insensibly carried along through his successive cycles of change. Beginning with prayer and finger-twistings at the north end of the square facing the cauldron, he then walked absorbedly



round it till he reached the south end, where he turned, faced the kettle and repeated the performance. Continuing round till he got to the west side he went through the thing again; and so on east, northwest, southeast, northeast and southwest, making thus at least a half circuit between each point. All this was most particular; though as a matter of fact the orientation of the points was hypothetical.

This constituted the simple motif, as it were. No sooner was it completed than he started on it again with variations. First it was salt. From the saucer on the stand he took a handful of this, and making circuits of the kettle as before, deposited a pinch at each of the compass points in their turn, digitating with the free hand as he did so. After this he tossed more salt into the air at each of the four cardinal points. Then, in the same way, he made the rounds, striking sparks from a flint and steel; and then again with the *gohei*-wand, exorcising the water by cuts in the air of imprecatory violence. Lastly he took two bamboo fronds, one in each hand, and circulating as before, lashed the liquid and then, lifting them loaded with spray, lashed the air above his head; north, south, west, east and then again *da capo*.

To this boiling shower-bath there seemed no end. Round and round the man went religiously compassing his points, repeating the scalding douche at each with ever-growing self-abandonment. Up to this last act he had seemed to be carrying on the rite, now the rite seemed to carry him on. Still circuit after circuit he made, his exaltation rising with each fresh dip, till at last he was as one possessed, scattering the scalding water not only over himself but over all the innocent by-standers as well and grunting maniacally as he lashed out with the fronds. Higher and higher rose the pitch till nature could no further go, and from the height of his paroxysm he all at once collapsed into a lump of limp rag upon the ground. The others rushed in and bore him away, the wilted semblance of a man.

While he was gone to prepare himself once more for the world, the high-priest explained to me the spirit of the rite.

The moon, it seems, is the cause of it all ; a first step in elucidation, to follow which requires less stretch of the western imagination than the next succeeding one. For that lunacy causing body is, it appears, the origin of water ; on the *lucus a non* principle, we must suppose, because it has none. However that may be, the spirit of water resides in the moon ; the spirit of cold water be it understood, the spirit of hot water being in Japanese eyes a totally different article. For a Japanese, cold water and hot water are quite different substances with different names. The spirit of hot water is the spirit of fire and rose to the water in the cauldron from the fire below at the moment the water boiled.

Now just as there are veins in man's body and fissures in the earth, so are there arteries in the air ; and to each spirit its own special arteries. When, therefore, the spirit of water be properly besought, it descends from its habitat the moon by its appropriate paths and dispossesses the spirit of fire, which sinks back again to the charcoal whence it came. And of course the hot water is no longer hot.

As is the case with all the miracles, the result is worked to easier perfection amid the pure air of the mountains. It is an irrelevant scientific detail that water at those attitudes should boil at a lower temperature.

In addition to the lunar action on the boiling water the priest himself is, I was told, temporarily possessed by the moon spirit and so rendered insensible to the heat, which as we just saw does not exist. This should make assurance doubly sure.

When the man returned, clothed and in his right mind once more, he was asked whether he felt the heat of the water during the ordeal. He replied, that sometimes he did and sometimes he did not ; in this instance, he said, he had felt nothing. He was a frail-looking youth of extatic eye, evidently a good " subject " though still in the early

stages of his novitiate. The head priest, a much stronger man and an adept, said he always felt the water but not the heat of it, which is an interesting distinction.

Here came in the importance of my dabble in the basin. Though it had been but to the extent of a little finger—and that too by religious permission—it had, it appeared, affected the heat on that side of the cauldron, preventing the water there from becoming as cold as elsewhere. For the man averred that he had perceived a difference between the two. But he had just said that he had not felt the heat of any part of it. He had therefore detected a distinction without a difference, a degree of divinity quite transcending the simply not feeling at all. Yet he was unconscious at the time and conscientious afterward. By partially destroying the spell it would seem that I had considerably heightened it.

• V.

*Hiwatari* or Fire-Crossing is the most popular of all the miracles. It consists in traversing barefoot a bed of live coals.

That the Buddhists are awake enough to its merits as a spectacle to claim it for their own need shake no one's faith in its Shintō origin. Birthright-obliterating adoption is an everyday Japanese trick and in this the native Buddhists have admirably displayed their patriotism while conscientiously alive to the interests of their faith. It would be hard to find anything Shintō worth fathering that they will not kindly father. I have known one of them gratuitously to assume proprietary rights in the *gohei* and to advance the *Kojiki* in support of them, which latter statement he wisely withdrew the next day by a postal card.

In its working the miracle is eminently democratic. Professionally it is not a star performance but an exhibition by the whole company. Fellowship, they say, adds to the purity of the rite. It certainly conduces to exaltation. In the second place performance is not confined

to the professionals. They indeed have the *pas*, but after they are satisfied the populace is permitted to indulge itself in the same way to its sole's content.

It lends itself so well to impressive effect that it is now more commonly publicly than privately performed. Indeed it is such an elephant of a miracle that to keep it absolutely secret in the city would be extremely cramping. Its publicity has caused it to be seen accidentally once or twice of foreigners and even purposely once before I came upon it myself, but to no public account of it.

To the faithful it is one of the regular stock miracles, and when you become well known to the profession for a collector of such curios you shall have offers of performance in your own backyard. If also you be friend to the High Priest of the Ontake sect of Shintō you may have a chance to witness it in spring and autumn in special glory in the grounds of the sect's head temple in town. There beside the miracle itself may be seen its scarcely less curious setting, an intent multitude framing the walkers round about, worked up at last to part participation itself. For while the bed is possessed by the god any sufficiently pure person may tread it with impunity to his cuticle and great gain to his good luck. The two go together. The courage comes in in accurately estimating the degree of one's own purity. If one be pure enough he will cross unscathed: if not, his more sensible understanding will speedily advise him of the fact. It is a sad trial to doubting Thomases. Such succeed only in adding to previous anguish of spirit after agony of sole.

The bed to be traversed is usually from twelve to eighteen feet long and from three to six feet wide. The width is not so vital to the miracle as the length; the length it is that has to be walked over and grows tedious. For the purity needed increases *pari passu* with the length—only in geometrical progression. Here it is not the first step but the last that costs.

The bed of state is an eight-poster. Eight bamboo, still fronded, are stuck into the ground enclosing the pyre and permitting perambulation round it. They are festooned by a hempen rope running from frond to frond about five feet above the ground. From this frieze depend forty-four *gohei*. This is important in ordinary cases, as the bamboo are dedicated to the eight heavenly dragons, bringers of rain. But if the ground be holy such outer guarding becomes unnecessary. It is one of the ground principles of religion that one should do without the gods as much as possible.

Ordinarily the bed is made as follows : Upon a mattress of straw mats is laid a sheet of seashore sand ; upon this are placed small branches for kindling wood and on top of them sticks crisscross, the better to catch fire. All this in order that everything may be as pure as possible. In the very centre of the bed is stood up a *gohei* upon its wand.

For fuel, pine wood is the proper article. Sticks free from knots are preferred. For resin lurks in the knots and has a spirit hard to quell. So long as a man is truly good he does not care. But the least admixture of sin in a man causes him to mind these knotty spots acutely.

Pine is still used in the country and in town when the authorities are not aware of the fact. Legally, however, charcoal is enjoined instead, owing to the danger of conflagration from flying wood ashes. At the high-priest's functions the law is dutifully observed.

The bed is laid four square to the compass points, in theory. In practice one side is assumed to be north, which is just as good in the eyes of the gods, who are superior to matters of fact.

To give life to the bit of drama I will localize it where I first saw it, in the grounds of the head temple of the Ontake Sect. The crowd had already collected by the time we arrived ; the bed had been laid and fired and the whole temple company, with the exception of the high priest him-

self, were at the moment busy attending to the pyre, some fanning the flames assiduously with open fans strapped to the end of long poles while others pounded it flat again with staves. They were all robed alike in white bath-gown looking robes and were all barefooted. The thing made a fine pageant, framed by the eager faces of the multitude, and set in the cool clear light of a September afternoon.

When they judged the bed to have been sufficiently made, they left off beating it and started in upon the incantation, an invitation to the god to descend to it.

A good old soul full of devoutness and dignity led off. Proceeding solemnly to the northern end of the bed, he faced it, clapped his hands, bowed his head in prayer, and then with energetic finger-twistings cabalistically sealed the same. Then he started slowly round the pyre, stopping at the middle of each side to repeat his act.

When he had got well under way, another followed in exact repetition; then a third and a fourth, and so on down to the youngest, our exstatic friend of the hot water ordeal, who threw himself body and soul into the rite. Seven of them in all were thus strung out circumambulating the pyre and sealing it digitally in purification. As it was not incumbent on the exorcists once started to travel at the same rate, the march soon took on the look of a go-as-you-please religious race.

The bed was circuited interminably, beyond the possibility of count, so rivetting to the bystanders', as well as to the performers', attention was the pantomime. At the conclusion of this first dedicatory prayer the salt made its appearance. For no Shintō miracle is complete without it. In this instance the thing was used unstintedly. A large bowl of it stood handily on one corner of the temple veranda and each priest, as he came up, helped himself to a handful and then proceeded to sow it lavishly upon the coals, finger-twisting with the free hand as he did so. The sowing was done with some energy, and

each throw pointed by a violent formula-grunt that so suited the fury of the action it sounded ominously like an imprecation. But it was only an emphatic command to the evil ones to keep away.

After considerable salt had thus been sown from the cardinal points, the head of the company struck sparks from a flint and steel in the same oriented way over the bed, the others still throwing on salt promiscuously for general efficacy. In addition to what was thus scattered over the coals, a mat at either end of the bed stood spread with the stuff. It sounds damaging, but is nevertheless a fact, that every Shintō miracle has to be taken with a great many grains of salt.

During all this time the high-priest, who took no active part in the rite and busied himself with the duties of host, was nevertheless engaged upon a private furtherance of the affair, quite obviously, he told me afterward. It consisted in breathing modulatedly in and out of his pursed-up lips. The action is a great purifier; incidentally it imparts to the holy the look of an inexperienced whistler vainly attempting a favorite tune.

A pause in the rite now informed everybody that the god had come, and everybody watched mutely for the effect; with very mixed emotion I fancy, for the entertainment partook of the characters of a mass, a martyrdom and a melodrama all in one.

The original old gentleman once more led off. Taking post at the bed's northern end, he piously clapped his hands, muttered a few consecrated words, and then salting his soles by a rub on the mat stepped boldly on to the burning bed and strode with dignified unconcern the whole length of it. He did this without the least symptom of discomfort or even of notice of his own act.

In their order the others followed, each treading with as much indifference as if the bed were mother earth. When all had gone over, all went over again.

It was now the turn of the laymen. The passing of the priests had been a pageant, dignified and slow ; the crossing of the common folk was its burlesque. The priests had seemed superior to the situation ; their lay brethren often fell ludicrously below it.

Any one who would was invited to try his foot at it ; not, I would add, in the spirit of the circus invitation to ride the mule. No deception whatever lay hidden behind the permit. It was a favor gratuitously and graciously granted by the church. For he who crosses furthers his own holiness, a matter capable of being turned at once to mundane account.

Many bystanders availed themselves of the privilege. Indeed not a few had come there for the purpose. Some did so on the pious understanding that the fire could not longer burn ; others apparently upon a more sceptical footing. One firm believer incurred no little odium for the extreme character of his convictions. So persuaded was he of the now harmless state of the charcoal that he sauntered solemnly across, rapt in reverie, quite oblivious to a tail of less devout folk whom his want of feeling kept in mid-bed on tenter-hooks behind him. In the extremity of their woe they hopped hastily up and down, and in their desperation pushed him off at the last, to his very near capsizing. For in spirit he was somewhere else, utterly unsuspecting a sudden irreligious shove from behind.

Another individual found it hotter than he had hoped and, after taking one step stolidly enough lost all sense of dignity at the second and began skipping from foot to foot in vain attempts at amelioration, to the derision of the lookers-on, especially of such as did not dare venture themselves. Apparently he thought better of it a little later, or perhaps he found himself more scared than scarred. For soon after he was at it again, and this time, to his great credit, with becoming dignity of march.



Indeed the procession was as humorous as humanity. All sorts and conditions of men, women and children, went over first and last. All were gain to religion, for nothing showed more conspicuous than the bouyant power of faith. It was not the sole but the self that trod there stripped of social covering. In the heat of the moment the walkers forgot their fellowmen and walked alone with their god. Characters came out vividly in the process ; each in pious pace contrasting with its neighbors, often treading close on its opposites heels, jostling emotion itself by the juxtaposition. Now a dear old grandam, bent by years to a question-mark, hobbled bravely across notwithstanding, and now a fair little girl, straight and slim as an admiration point, performed the feat vicariously, but I doubt not as effectively, in the arms of one of the priests. A touch of the fine in all this that tended to film the eyes, and show its spirit through a glamor due one's own.

Many of the lay folk, not content with one crossing, returned for more ; the church kindly permitting any number of repetitions.

When the last enthusiast had had enough, the embers were prodded by the poles into pi. Under this airing of the bed the god not unnaturally departs. After he has gone no one may cross unscathed. Under coals are certainly more firey than surface ones, especially if the latter have been sprinkled with salt.

A fual prayer, pointed with finger pantomime, closed the function.

The use of the salt deserves further mention. In this instance it was the salient feature of the rite and had been enjoined by no less a personage, it appeared, than the god himself. But as the deity had commanded it under the somewhat poetic name of "flower of the waves," the high-priest had been at first at a loss to comprehend the divine meaning. Later the god had condescended to an explanation. Nevertheless the name, so I am given to understand, is in common secular use.

To the undevout mind the salting of the bed would seem to conduce to the success of the feat. For salt is a very glutton of heat and will do pretty much anything to get it, however menial, from melting snow on horse-car tracks to freezing ice-cream. Cooling coals is therefore quite in character. Its unappeasible appetite for caloric is not unappreciated in Japan. The priests nobly admitted that it mitigated the full rigor of the miracle.

The performance of the miracle does not, however, depend upon its use; only one has to be holier to work it without. Fire-walking is at times done quite fresh; preferably amid the purity of the hills, with whose freshness its own is then in keeping. But it is occasionally so performed in town.

The origin of the rite dates from extreme antiquity. It dates indeed from before there were men to walk, having been instituted of the gods in the days when they alone lived in the land. Walking is not of its essence, *hiwatari* being but a specialized case of general immunity to fire. The possibility of such immunity was first demonstrated by a lady, the goddess who rejoices in the simple but somewhat protracted name of *Kōnohanasakayahime-nomikoto*. It sounds better when translated: the goddess who makes the flower buds to open. She is perhaps better known as the goddess of Fuji. By proving her own imperviousness to fire she persuaded her doubting spouse, the god *Niniginomikoto*, of the falsity of some suspicions which he had been ungallant enough to entertain. Those who care to read all the evidence is the case will find it in the *Nihonshoki*, a valuable work in fifteen volumes of archaic Japanese.

Immunity from harm is due only in part to virtue in the performer. The chief cause of the impunity is that the fire has lost its power to burn. It has parted with its spirit. Materially considered, the fire is still there, but spiritually speaking, it is extinct. This is why, when

it has been once exorcized, the veriest tyro may cross it without a blister. The spirit of water has descended to it from the moon, brought by the eight heavenly dragons, and driven the spirit of fire out of the coals. Any sceptic might soon prove this to his own satisfaction by just walking over the coals himself, were his understanding but pure enough.

The object of the rite, so the high priest expounded it, is that the populace may see that the god when duly besought can take away the burning spirit of fire while still permitting the body of it to remain. For so can he do with the hearts of men; the bad spirit may be driven out and the good put in its place while yet the man continues to live.

To the dispassionate eye of science two things conduce to the easy performance of the feat. One is the toughness of the far-eastern sole, due initially to a less sensitive nervous organization than is the birthright of a European, and then still further calloused by constant exposed use. This leaves the distance to be traversed between the natural sensitiveness and the induced insensitiveness considerably less than it would be with us. The intervening step is the result of exaltation. By first firmly believing that no pain will be felt and then inducing a state of extacy whose preoccupation the afferent sensation fails to pierce, no pain is perceived.

More than this the burn is not followed by the same after effects. For there is a complete or partial absence of blisters. The part burnt is burnt like cloth or any other inanimate substance, and that is the end of it. No inconvenience follows the act among the truly good. In less devout folk small blisters are raised but without noticeable annoyance. In all probability it is a partial case of what Delboeuf so shrewdly discovered with his hypnotized subject, on whom he (I quote from James) "applied the actual canterry (as well as vesicants) to symmetrical places on the skin, affirm-

ing that no pain would be felt on one of the sides. The result was a dry scorch on that side with (as he assures me) no after mark, but on the other side a regular blister with suppuration and a subsequent scar."

If you suppress the pain, you by that act suppress the inflammatory consequences, largely if not entirely. For pain being an alarmist message deceives the ever credulous brain into over action. Pain is the fire bell of the body physical, and summons pell mell to the spot far too much blood for the occasion. If you like to personify it, which is quite in keeping with piety, you may conceive it grinning at the preposterous fuss its duping of consciousness has caused.

Faith, therefore, does in very truth work the miracle. We know this, now that miracles have ceased to seem miraculous; which is a little late perhaps for purely pious purposes.

## VI.

To give a full account of Shintō miracles, we have now to consider quite a different class of them. *Kugadachi* and *hiwatari* belong to what I have called subjection-objective miracles; the objective ones, pure and simple, remain to be viewed. The adjectives are not mere matter of nomenclature. For the first kind are brought about by the unintentional but efficient subjective action of the miracle-performer himself, the latter take place independently of him. It is a distinction unimportant as regards the things, but of vital consequence as regards the people. Indeed it is one which makes or mars the whole scientific value of an investigation into these phenomena. For though it be open to you to doubt whether the water or the fire in the two ordeals above be rendered any the less hot by having parted with its spirit, it is not open to you to doubt the difference of perception of that heat in the man's normal and abnormal states of consciousness. This question

is quaintly begged by believers, by stating that the god withdraws the spirit of the fire or permits it to return momentarily, according to the character of the tester. Sceptics settle the whole matter off-hand by denying the fact. But it is unscientific to call upon a noumenon unnecessarily, even of an annihilating character. Universal negation of a sense distinction implies universal charlatanism; and men are both too simple and too astute for this to be possible. Charlatans ape but they do not originate. A counterfeit implies a genuine and a sham something to sham.

To the objective miracles there is no such psychic side; they are due to misunderstood physical principles merely. The *Odajigokushiki* or "Descent of the Thunder God" is one of these. He descends into so plebeian a thing as a kettle of steaming rice; the consequent touch of thunder giving the rice a taste peculiarly pleasing to the gods. The manner of performing it that I was shown was as follows.

Upon a small urn was placed a kettle and upon the kettle a rice-steamer, the lid so set on as to leave a slit on one side. A young acolyte then appeared in a supposed white robe, his hair dank from the bath and his whole person shivering with cold, and striking a spark from some flint and steel proceeded to light the fire and then to encourage its combustion by the usual finger-twistings, scattering of salt, prayer, striking sparks, and brandishing the *gohei* wand. After the thing was well under way the head priest advanced to perfect the rite, the acolyte falling back to the part of mute. In keeping with the good man's extreme purity his finishing touches were very simple. The principal feature was the soundless whistle he kept up through his pursed lips. This muttered prayer and archaic finger charms suggestive of severe traction of some external thing toward his stomach, constituted all his spell. Then he squatted, still mutely whistling, before the kettle and watched.

He had not long to wait. Suddenly a roar rose out of the body of it and, at the same moment, though as I noticed, a trifle late, the priest's own body began to sway back and forth. Steam rose synchronously, and then after lasting a couple of seconds the roar ceased. The roar had marked the presence of the Thunder-God.

Press of business the priest gave as excuse for the shortness of the divine visit. But indeed we were very fortunate it seemed, for often the deity does not deign to descend at all, being otherwise occupied. Besides if every thing be not perfectly pure he refuses to come on conscientious grounds.

The priest averred that at the instant of possession, he always felt a violent punch in his stomach. He also said that the swaying of his body was to induce by symbolic traction the presence of the god. To sceptical eyes it had seemed to follow rather than precede that fact. The slit in the lid has been suggested as capable of explaining the miracle, could it only talk as well as it can roar.

## VII.

By far the most wonderful of the objective miracles is the bringing down fire from heaven by simple incantation. It may be used to light anything, the prehistoric two sticks preferably for purposes of warmth. Not being, at the moment, in need of caloric—it was seventy five in the shade—the miracle was performed in my case upon the comparatively vile body of a freshly filled, unlighted pipe.

This is a very difficult miracle. Indeed even when it succeeds it is scarcely an economical method of starting one's tobacco day-dreams, so much time and trouble does it cost. But to epicureans who hunt new sensations and to whom the one meaning of the word dear is synonymous with

the other, it may safely be recommended. For it is not likely as yet, if I may argue from my own experience, to be generally taken up.

To insure success in the city the day should be sunshiny. Among the mountains even a cloudy day will do, so I am informed. I cannot speak confidently of the latter fact, because my own investigations were confined to the ridgepole of my house in town and to the turf immediately below it.

The medium, as I may call him, began by douching himself in the bath room from which, between the plumps of water, could be heard sputterings of formulae and grunts as he finger-twisted. He emerged with nothing on but a blue pocket-handkerchief for loin-cloth, the small blue and white rag with which the Japanese dab themselves in lieu of towel. In this attire he sallied forth into the garden, and selecting the side of a hill as a propitious spot, squatted in Japanese fashion on its slope.

Cradling the pipe between his hands he prayed over it, exhaustively. Then he put it, tilted toward the sun, in front of him and exorcized it very energetically by finger charms, one of which strikingly resembled an imaginary burning glass. There was however nothing between his fingers but air. He had spent fifteen minutes in digital contortions when he suddenly stopped distressed and complaining that the ants tickled him by promenading over his bare skin, said he thought he would go upon the roof. A ladder was brought and tilted against the eaves, and up it he mounted to the tiles and thence by easy slopes to the ridgepole. In this conspicuous and yet solitary position he continued the incantation. Part of the time I sat beside him on the roof; part of it below on the ground, looking intently up into heaven, expecting momentarily the advent of the god.

Three-quarters of an hour passed thus in momentary expectation; but nothing happened. At last, much chagrined,

he informed us from the ridgepole that it was of no use that day and came down, but he declared his intention of repeating the rite till he succeeded; and, with this pious resolve, left.

True to his determination he was there again two days later, and two of us watched him for the better part of an hour from vantage points in the garden below. In the garden had been set the lunch table to command the ridgepole, for the expected divine visit was sublimely ill-timed. At last nature could wait no longer and we sat down keeping one eye on the exorcist till attention nodded. Suddenly the man uttered a cry, went into incipient convulsions, and threw the pipe off into the garden—lighted.

Exactly how he managed this I am unable to guess. He certainly had scant means of concealment about his bare person. Naturally we were not satisfied and he professed himself willing to repeat the act. He tried the trick after this on many subsequent occasions but never succeeded again—so there this miracle remains, very much in the air.

To make the catalogue complete I ought to mention what, spiritually viewed, are ornamental miracles, such as killing snakes and bringing them to life again, rooting burglars to the spot, arresting the attempts of assassins in the act and defending one's self against ugly dogs. Nichiren, for example, is said to have broken in two the blade of his would-be executioner by charms taught him of the Shintō priests. But all such acts need not be dwelt upon at length, as they are very simple affairs to the truly good, and, like some scientific inventions, too expensive for general use.



## TOUCHING BURMESE, JAPANESE, CHINESE, AND KOREAN.

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BY E. H. PARKER, ESQ.

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[Read Feb. 15th, 1893.]

Last year Mr. Percival Lowell published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* a very readable article upon *A Comparison of the Japanese and Burmese Languages*, prefaced by some remarks alike thoughtful and interesting, upon the inevitable decay of all spoken tongues, checked to a certain extent when the stage of writing phonetically is reached. The Burmese and Japanese both learnt to read and write, he goes on to say, some twelve [say, rather fifteen] centuries ago, the former forming their *kana* out of the Chinese characters, and the Burmese out of the Pali script. “With the Chinese the case, though different, was yet the same; for, though the Middle Kingdom had at that time a long literary career behind it, its characters were symbols of ideas, not sounds, and therefore quite powerless to check phonetic change.”

But there can be little doubt that the Japanese and the Burmese were both more or less familiar with Chinese and Pali writing, respectively, some considerable time before special syllabaries and alphabets were invented for them. This, however, is a trifling matter, which does not affect the main question at issue. Yet, as to Chinese, Mr. Lowell's view is open to revision. In a great measure the Chinese

characters, possessing as they do rather potentialities or equations of sound than sounds, have been much more effective in preserving "stereotyped speech" than the phonetic alphabets. The reason is this. The symbolic ideas being all monosyllables, and to a certain extent indivisible in sound, always bear a relative value in comparison with other sounds. Hence, though the natural process of decay may lead a Korean to say *chöp* for what a Nanking man may call *ti*, the absence of any Chinese means of disintegrating the whole symbol-sound into phonetic fragments has the effect of preserving in the mind's eye a sort of unchangeable potentiality, which may sound *tieh*, *dik*, *tip*, *cho*, *dit*, etc., according to the provincality of the speaker. This I have already pointed out elsewhere, and I beg to refer Mr. Lowell to the philological essay which prefaces Mr. Giles's new Chinese Dictionary, where he will find the whole subject discussed.

As Mr. Lowell suggests, "prior to this foreign importation [of letters], Altaic words were as free to wander from the parent form as the speakers themselves from their ancestral homes. \* \* Other tests must be sought. \* \* We must enlarge our scope from words to thoughts. \* \* In some instances, the resemblance is very striking, as, for example, between Japanese and Korean. \* \* In this manner must be compared Burmese and Japanese."

In various papers, published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, and in the *China Review*, I have endeavoured to shew the relation between Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. These papers are cited in the essay above alluded to. The result, so far as I have got, is this. The construction of Japanese and Korean is nearly identical, and the construction of Chinese differs from both, though the Chinese character, *i.e.* in *wên-li* 文理 as distinguished from colloquial speech, is often fairly adequate to express, without change of syntax, both Japanese and Chinese idioms. The number of

Japanese words which closely resemble in sound (actual or relative) Chinese words of similar meaning is very great, but it is uncertain to what extent these words are borrowings, or are evidence of descent from one and the same stock. The number of Korean words resembling Chinese words of similar meaning is almost *nil*, and the number of Korean words resembling old Japanese words of similar meaning is almost absolutely *nil*. In other words colloquial Korean and Japanese, though resembling each other in construction as strikingly as they both differ from colloquial Chinese in construction, do not bear one and the same relation to Chinese as regards verbal resemblance. To use Mr. Lowell's own metaphor, the orbit radius of Korean and Japanese is the same, but the globe radius differs. Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain has expressed his views on this point at length, in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, and is of opinion that the evidence which he produces points to Japanese borrowings from Chinese rather than identity of descent, so far as the globe radius is concerned. Though he admits that he cannot produce evidence just yet, he is also of the opinion that the globe radius of Korean and Japanese will be found connected by some affinity. I see no reason for differing with him as to the possibilities of future discovery, but differ from him to the extent of relegating to the region of speculation—in short, ignoring—all *quasi*-conclusions for which evidence cannot be immediately produced.

Mr. Lowell, in the paper now under review, sets out with the observation that both Burmese and Japanese recognize but two parts of speech, which the Japanese call "names" and "workwords,"—in other words facts, and acts; which division seems to me the same thing as the Chinese division into 死字 and 活字, that is, dead words or inelastic words, and living words or elastic words. "These facts [goes on Mr. Lowell] include all parts of "speech except what we should call verbs, adjectives

"and adverbs. \* \* Acts alone can be modified grammatically. \* \* To the Burman as to a Japanese, a noun [*e. g.* 'nobody'] can never be negative."

To this we may add that the particles which serve in Burmese to distinguish cases are in principle remarkably like those of Korean as well as those of Japanese; in some cases even more like Korean. For instance, the Burmese nominative particle *thi* (pronounced absolutely like the English word *thee*) corresponds exactly with the Korean *i* or *si*, Japanese having no precise equivalent. The Burmese genitive *i* corresponds with the Korean *ŭi* and the Japanese *no*; the Burmese objective *go* is the Japanese *wo* and the Korean *il*; and so on with the instrumental, dative, and other cases. In all three languages these particles may often be omitted from speech without any injury to the senso.

The absence of gender is complete in all three languages, as also the absence of relative pronouns. But the use of the Burmese plural particle *do* is much more general than that of the Japanese *domo*, as in the word *ko-domo*; it is quite as common in ordinary speech as the Korean *til*, and, like it, can take all the case affixes, *e. g.* Korean *kŭi saram-til-i* "those men (are about to);" Burmese *i-lu-do-thi* "these men (are about to),"—the *thi* (*nigori*-ed into *dhi*) necessitating that the subject shall do or be something nominatively.

On the whole, in honorifics the Burmese may be said to stand on exactly the same footing as the Korean and the Japanese. The unlimited use of the Burmese word *doa* or *daw*, in speaking of or to royal, official, and ecclesiastical personages, is on a par with that of the Japanese *o* or *go*, and the Burmese use of *mu* is like that of the Korean *si*, *sim*, or *sip*. For instance *the* or *thedhi*, "to die," becomes in Burmese *pian-doa-mu-dhi* for a priest, and *yŭa-san-doa-mu-le-dhi* for a king. These expressions are equivalent to the Chinese 圓寂 and 仙遊 respectively: the final *dhi* in *thedhi*

is equivalent to the Korean *ta* in *hăta* and the honorific part *doa-mu-le* may be varied, increased, or diminished, just as in the Korean *hă-o*, *hă-si-o*, *hă-sip-nai-ta*, *hă-op-sim-nai-ta*, etc., or the Japanese *masu*, *de gozaimasu*, etc. Literally *pian-doa* is the same as the Japanese *o-kayeri*, whilst *yüa-san* may be fitted in to any of the Japanese expressions equivalent to 仙郷 or 仙逝 and derived from the Chinese.

The relative pronoun in Burmese is expressed by the use of what may be termed a participle ; for instance, *kaung-dhoa lu* "a good man;" *lu-dhoa-lu* "the come man," or "the man who has come;" *lu(lu-dhi) kaung-dhi*, "the man is good." This is precisely like the Korean *kî sarami chota* (or *choso*), "That man is good," or *chohin saram*, "a good man."

The next point is the auxiliary numerals, which, in Burmese, are not only, numeral for numeral, almost exactly the same in meaning as the Chinese numerals, but in many cases are also very similar in sound. Except in so far as Japanese, construction and all, is borrowed from Chinese, it does not appear to be so much a slave to auxiliary numerals as the Chinese and Burmese languages, and the same may be said of primitive or non-Chinese Korean. As Mr. Lowell says :—" In all these languages a noun states, " of its object, quality, not quantity : to express the latter " a generic noun, also quite incapable of expressing " quality, is added to the first." In order to illustrate this point of auxiliary numerals, it will be more convenient to take a few of the Chinese characters pure and simple, and compare them with the Burmese words of similar effect and power. These characters apply equally well in most instances to Japanese and Korean of the mixed kind as spoken now.

位, *wei* ; Burmese *u*, "a chief;" *toun-dhi ta-u*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 商人一位 : *wei* pronounced *yü* in Wênchow.

尊, 座, *tso*, *tsun*; Burmese *pa* [meaning uncertain], applied to deities and ecclesiastics: *p'ung-dji ta-ba*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 和尚一座.

乘, *ch'êng*, Burmese, *si*, "what is ridden on:" *hle hna-zi*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 車兩乘.

條 *t'iao*, Burmese *ciaung* and *c'iaung*, "a line," "a length;" *lan-thoung-ciaung*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 路三條; *ah ta-c'iaung*, equivalent to 針一條, or 一根.

The Chinese numerals 桿, 段, etc., are often interchangeable with the above two Burmese numerals.

In the same way the Chinese and Burmese numerals for "what is round," "what is flat," "one of a pair," "a space," "a time," "a brute-beast," "a man," etc., may be compared together. There is even a vague Burmese auxiliary *k'u*, which precisely corresponds with the Chinese *ko*, 個, or 个, and may be applied to things which readily admit of no other numeral word more descriptive.

Mr. Lowell is inclined to make merry over the fact that the Burmese have occasionally to apply the auxiliary numeral to its own principle, *e. g.* *yüa ta-yüa*, "village one village;" *the bien ta-bien*, "wood tree one tree," etc.; but this is exceptional. In Chinese we have 一條條子, and there is no reason why almost any Chinese numeral should not be occasionally reduplicated in the same way; for instance, 處處 "two places of ill fame," 公所一所 "one public office."

There is, however, nothing colloquial either in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, so far as I am aware, at all akin to the peculiar Burmese arrangement by which capital numbers only, such as ten, twenty, a hundred, have the auxiliary number prefixed plus the initial *a*: thus *k'wet-ahoung hnih-sae*, instead of *hnih-sae-ahoung k'wet*. It is as though we should say in Chinese 碗個二十 instead of 二十個碗 whenever the number is capital. Possibly a trace of this may be found in the graceful Chinese literary expression 二十有一年, or 年七十有載, or 歲, or 一百有三.

Nor does there appear to be in either of the three other "yellow" languages anything at all akin to the curious Burmese particle *a*, which, besides being affixed to nearly all words used as nouns, and again dropped according to the position of the noun in syntax, exercises divers indescribable influences in other miscellaneous ways. Thus *mya* "many," *myadhi* "are many," *mya-dhoa lu* "many men," *sayá amya* "a many teachers": *thih* "new," *a-ihih* "anew." Here it seems almost to have the same effect as the English *a*. Perhaps the Cantonese *a* applied to proper names is sometimes the same thing in effect. Thus Mr. Yōng Kên would be familiarly called A-Kên, whilst Mēh-shōü 乜誰, "who," is turned into A-mēh-shōü 阿乜誰, "Mr. What's-his-name." Again, Burmese *eing* "a house," *a-eing* "a house [in a special sense], "a sheath." In many respects it has, as a prefix, the same apparent effect as the Chinese 子 or 兒 as a suffix or diminutive enclitic.

Mr. Lowell's remarks upon the subject of adjectives, which in Japanese, Korean, and Burmese alike are very much interchangeable with verbs, do not seem to be quite accurate. Surely it cannot be correct to say that "when used either qualifyingly or predicatively, the position differs from the Japanese in that it follows where the Japanese precedes and precedes where the Japanese follows." As a matter of fact, the qualifying or predicative use which, with us, differentiates the adjective from the verb, is only our way of looking at the question. The Burmese construction seems to be exactly allied to the Korean; there is really no such thing as a verb in either language, beyond the single copula *hāta* in Korean and *dhi* in Burmese. *Kaung* and *cho* are the two roots meaning "good" in the respective languages; *kaung-dhi* is the same as *cho-tu*, and *kaung-dhoa lu* is the same as *cho-hīn saram* or, to revert to Japanese, as the particles *no* and *na*; as, for instance, *kara no hako*, "an empty box;"

or, again, to take two examples from Mr. Chamberlain's grammar, *Rikō na inu desū* "It is an intelligent dog;" *Kono inu wa rikō desū*, "This dog is intelligent."

There certainly is nothing in either Japanese or Korean at all akin to the convenient arrangement by which many transitive verbs become intransitive by the simple addition of an aspirate, and *vice versa*. Thus *kyā-dhi*, "falls;" *ky'ā-dhi*, "throws down." In elegant and highly literary Chinese this is sometimes worked by a change of tone: *sien* 光 "before," *sien-chi* 光之 "to precede him;" *k'i* 騎 "to ride," *ji* 騎 "a mount," "a rider." In this latter case the absence of an aspirate suggests a sort of sympathy in Chinese with the Burmese notion.

In spite of the influence of Pali upon Burmese, there can be no doubt that the language is essentially monosyllabic. Mr. Lowell enters into the question what "monosyllabic" really means; but this is a question which I have also discussed at length in other papers, and which it is unnecessary to go into again here. Suffice it to say that Mr. Lowell places Burmese in a midway position between Japanese, where "chemical union" has taken place, and Chinese where it has hardly been reached. It is curious to compare the examples he gives with the Chinese. *Kya-pyaw*, "hear speak" or "tell," is exactly the Cantonese (and generally Southern Chinese) *kong-t'eng* 講聽, the pronoun or name of the person spoken to coming between the two words in Chinese. The Japanese construction of *kikaseru* is practically the same as the Burmese, being 聽講 or 聽令, which again is almost precisely the Korean *māl-hāta* or 言爲. In all three instances it will be observed that, as compared with Chinese, the two words "make hear," or "cause hear," or "do words," are transposed in the three other tongues. So with the other example given; *na t'aung*, "ear erect," "to erect the ear," or "listen," is the Chinese 側耳 transposed. Another type of compound is synthetical, thus



*pyaw-s'o*, equivalent in every way to the Pekingese 告訴 [他] 說. Possibly indeed *pyaw* is lineally connected with 表 and *s'o* with 訴.

The various verbal affixes, having the effect of our "moods," are much the same in Burmese and Japanese. But *k'ien*, as in *louk-djien*, "wish to do," besides having the effect of the Japanese *tai* as in *shitai*, has also the effect of turning the verbal root into a noun of condition, or in short, a participle or gerund, according to position. For instance, *eing-t'aung*, "house establishing," equivalent to the Chinese 立室, means "to marry," and *eing-t'aung-djien* means "[the fact of] marriage." It is precisely the distinction between our English "I am wanting," "there is a wanting (or a wantingness or want) that I have," and "I am a wanting." In other words, the English *ing* finds its analogue throughout the whole gamut of the Burmese *ch'ien* or *k'ien*.

Before I go any farther, I must clear matters up by explaining that the *nigori* exists in Burmese precisely as it does in Japanese; that is to say, as a general rule, the exceptions from the general rule being as arbitrary in one language as in the other. Also as in Northern Chinese, the Burmese *ki* is pronounced nearly like the English *chi*, and consequently the *nigori* form is like *dji*. I mention the fact at this stage, in order that readers may not be confused by the fact that a final Burmese syllable is not pronounced like the same syllable when not final, or rather when initial. It is remarkable that the fact of the existence of the *nigori* or "thickening" [Chinese 濁] in Burmese escaped the attention of Mr. Lowell. Perhaps I should say rather that it *would* have been remarkable, had it not been apparent on the face of Mr. Lowell's paper that he was merely a pleasant and thoughtful writer, with no profound knowledge of either Burmese or Japanese. The Burmese themselves have no idea of the existence of the *nigori*, nor have they any means of expressing the transition

from surd to sonant when explained to them. I have asked nearly all the really distinguished European Burmese-speaking scholars in Burma about this point; but few if any of them have ever seriously remarked its existence as a factor in speech classes, and none have been able to express it for me in the Burmese tongue or to get a Burman to express it. Judson's little grammar, however, practically gives the rule in the following words:—

“There is another permutation of perpetual occurrence which may be thus stated:—When the syllables are in juxtaposition, so as to form one word, the first syllable ending in a vowel (except *a* short) or a nasal, and the initial letter of the second syllable being the first or second letter [*i.e.*, the unaspirated or *tenuis* and the aspirate, both upper series] of either [*i.e.* any] of the five classes of consonants, it frequently takes the sound of the third letter [*i.e.* the sonant] of the same class: that is “*k* and *k'* are pronounced as *g*, *s* and *s'* as *z*, *t* and *t'* as *d*; *p* and *p'* as *b*. Thus *sa-kāh*, “a word,” is pronounced *saqāh*, and *en-tan*, “considerably,” is pronounced *endan*. But there are so many exceptions to this general rule that regard to the coalescence of sounds as exhibited in common practice is recommended as the only true guide.”

Mr. Lowell's remarks on verbal accidents are somewhat summary. The tense denoted by *mi* seems to correspond to the Korean *hāl*, and to be both an infinitive and a future. In fact, Judson's dictionary gives the following example: *s'o-p'yuh-mi a-ciaung la-dhi*, “To shall decide reason he came,” or “He came to decide the case.” This is the same construction as the Korean *māl-hāl-su épso*, “He is without the withal to shall explain.” Mr. Lowell does not state what the tense of probability “which we find in Japanese” really is; but Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain points out clearly upon page 169 of his *Colloquial Japanese* that Europeans have misunderstood the difference between *kimasū*.

*ka* "Will he come," [or "Does he come (to-morrow)"], and *himashō-ka* "Will he probably come," or "to be likely to come?" But the Burmese can ring the changes on many a future besides *mi*. Thus *thwa-knen-mi*, "he will go (before you);" *we-ya-mi*, "you-must-shall buy;" *dutiya-atan-hma-si-ba-mi*, "second-class-in sit-shall." There is no improbability here. Chase's grammar gives *an* (possibly hereditarily connected with the classical Japanese *n* or *an* as in *okan*, *taben*), *an-mi*, *lein-mi*, etc. There is also a form in *latan* or *lattan*.

The particle *dhi* does not necessarily denote the present tense, as will be seen from the above example. Neither does the particle *i*. Both of them are *assertive* verbal suffixes, like the Japanese *u*, *eru* or *iru* (according to conjugation), and may be either present or perfect. But, unlike the Japanese assertive or certain present, the Burmese certain present cannot be used as a future. It is singular to notice that *dhi* and *i* are both of them suffixes to nouns as well as to verbs, the former being the nominative and the latter the genitive particle. Thus *ami-dhi tha-go yaik-dhi*, "the mother beats the child." The Koreans, like the Japanese, can write in three ways, either by using pure Chinese, or pure Korean, or by using a mixture of character and *hana*. The Koreans only use the mixed style in school primers. The Korean school books would represent the above sentence in a mixture of Chinese and Korean *ên-mun* thus:—母 *ka* 子 *il* 打 *so*, (substituting Korean for Roman letters), and there is no reason why pure Burmese apart from Pali should not be written in Chinese character in the same way. The colloquial Korean would be *êmi-ka êrinkêsil* (or *chăsikil*) *ttarita* or *ttario* (according to the rank of the speaker.) It is remarkable to notice how near *ami* and *êmi* are, and how the *tsz* 子 of the Chinese *tsz-sih* 子息 becomes *chă* and *tha* in Korean and possibly Burmese. It is also interesting to notice that the Burmese have a nominative in *ka* (*nigori*'ed into *ga*) besides that in *dhi*,

just as the Koreans have a *ka* as well as an *i*. For instance: *ami-ga ma-houk-bu, ngatha, s'o-le-i*: "the mother said 'not so' my son," which may be rendered in Korean or mixed Japanese 母 *ka* 不是我子 *to hanashima-shita*, with due substitutions to suit each language. The Burmese assertive suffix *dhi* is added on to all auxiliary verbs unless the assertion is negative. Thus *thwa-the-dhi* "goes continues," or "he is still going," *thwa-hnainy-dhi*, "goes can," or "he is able to go," etc. The corresponding negative assertions would be *ma-thwa-bu*, or *ma-thwa-hnainy*, "he is not going (or gone)" "he cannot go;" or, again, *ma-thwa-dhe*, "he is not yet gone;" this last *dhe*, here *niyōri*'ed, corresponding to the *the* of the first example. It is hardly correct to say with Mr. Lowell that the Burmese have two negatives [like the French *ne—pas*]: *ma* is the true negative; thus, *ma wen ya*, "do not enter," or "not enter must," whilst *bu* is, as Mr. Lowell himself elsewhere says, an indefinite past.

The Japanese past in *ta* is stated by Mr. Chamberlain to be a corruption of *te-arū*. So high an authority cannot be lightly questioned, but it seems that it is also lineally connected with the Korean *t* or *yēt*, thus Korean *hāso*, *hāyētso*; Japanese *ikimasū*, *ikimashita*. Both of them correspond in a measure with the Burmese past particle *byi*, e.g. *la-byi* "have come."

It is true that Burmese does not seem to be strong in subjunctives and conditionals; however, a scientific grammar of Burmese, akin to the splendid Japanese grammars of Mr. Aston and Mr. Chamberlain, has yet to be constructed. Meanwhile I must protest against such enigmatical, bare, and consequently unanswerable statements as the following made by Mr. Lowell:—"Nor has the Burmese subjunctive reached the Japanese cohesion. Conjunctions by "courtesy but demonstratives in truth suffice for the "relation."

The double interrogative form of Burmese is really remarkable, and so far as I am aware, there is nothing like it in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. *Lé* is the interrogative particle when a general question is asked, and *la* when it is categorical or specific. Thus, *la-byi-la*? "has [he] come"? *Ami-lé* " [your] name."

On honorifics Mr. Lowell is sketchy and vague. The Japanese by means of the prefixes *o* and *go* 御, and the polite adjunct *masu*, adding an occasional *goza* 御座 for special politeness, are practically in the same plight as the Koreans with their *o*, *si-o*, *sip-ne-ta*, etc., which can be piled on to the verb root *ad libitum*. The Burmese *daw*, as pointed out above, corresponds to the Japanese *o* or *go* and Korean *si*, whilst *mu* can be added to the verb. Thus, *miendji yauk-daw mu-byi*, "governor has arrived," may be compared with the Japanese *ō-san o-kayeri-nusaimashita*; here *mien* is a ruler of any kind, from king to prefect; *gyi* or *dji*, the *nigori*'ed form of *kyi* or *chi*, has the effect of the Japanese *san*; *o* is equal to *daw*, and *masū* is equal to *mu*. The Korean would be *nim-kun-i tora hayēt-simneta*, or some such equivalent expression: the Chinese or essential part being merely 君回.

Such double negatives in Burmese as *ma-pyaw-ma-s'o* are precisely the same as the Chinese 不言不語, or our "nor spoke nor uttered cry," and do not merit Mr. Lowell's derision. Here I may mention an extraordinary delusion of all European—i.e. English—students of Burmese, which leads them to imagine a *t* before every Burmese *s*; thus *tsaubwa* for *sauwa*, and *htso* for *s'o* [possibly lineally connected with the Chinese 新]. Mr. Lowell follows this absurd system throughout. The initial *h* is also vicious, for the aspirate in such words as *hti*, *hka*, *hpan*, comes after the consonant, and the words are *t'i*, *k'a*, *p'an*; on the other hand, the aspirate in *hmaing hma*, *hle*, comes before the liquid or nasal. The whole of the

Anglo-Burman orthography is in a dreadful state of jumble, and, like the grammar, requires a thorough overhauling.

It is by no means certain that the construction of Burmese syntax is not much nearer to that of Japanese than Mr. Lowell supposes. There are two initial particles *gǎ* and *gā*, which correspond very fairly with the Japanese *wa* and *ga*, whilst the book final *le-dhi* seems to answer in every reasonable way to the rounding-off word *nari*. In Korean *hāta* does the same duty, either pure or forming part of another verb. The Burmese sentence selected by Mr. Lowell for illustration will turn into very fair Chinese, Korean, or Japanese. Thus *ye kya-thaw-k'a la-pyaw-ba*, word for word 雨 [or 水] 下之時來說罷; in Japanese, *ame furu toki [ni wa] kikashite kudasai*; or in Korean *pi ol-ttae māl-hāyera*. At this distance from Japan and Korea, with no good books to refer to, I cannot be sure of constructing very accurate sentences in those languages, of which my knowledge is imperfect; but the effort is at least adequate to exhibit the almost complete identity of construction which reigns between them.

Mr. Lowell says that "the Burmese in the matter of clause construction, holds a middle course between the everlasting Japanese sentence and the choppy Chinese one." It is true that it does not suspend the attention for so long, but in colloquial it appears to me that Burmese is just as "choppy" as Chinese. And I do not see why it should not be so. French is remarkably "choppy" in its style as compared with the (to us) intolerable suspensiveness of German, and it is one of the charms of French to all nations that the sentences are pithy and short. On what principle should one of the following sentences be preferred in style to the other? "The French troops have arrived. The German general is away. Seeing this, the English general declines to discuss business with the

"French general. The English Queen is angry. The German Emperor says the German general alone is at fault, because it was agreed that no action should be taken by English or Germans alone." "The Queen of England is angry because the English general, on the arrival of the French troops, declined to discuss business with the French general owing to the absence of the German general; but the German Emperor says that the German general" [etc. as above]. This painful suspensiveness of German and Japanese, is only painful to those whose thoughts are trained to run in a different mould. The mere fact of a language being spoken in a given way is *ipso facto* proof that that is the clearest way for the native speaker. It is not a fact that "choppiness" is either essentially inferior to or easier than suspensiveness; but it is a fact that chopiness must be easier to foreign speakers of choppy languages than suspensiveness (unless that suspensiveness is in the same mould as the suspensiveness of the foreign speaker's own language), for the simple reason that chopiness must be the more antique style of the two, because it consists of the fragments out of which the more developed suspensiveness is composed, and high development in a given direction is quite a separate question from superiority, which after all means popularity, and always must mean so in languages.

It is more true of Mr. Lowell to say that Burmese stands midway between Chinese and Japanese in the matter of tonic sounds. This has been explained by me at length in the philological essay above referred to. As to his concluding statement that Burmese, Manchu, Korean, and Japanese all differ in root-words, I shall shew in my next paper that a very large number of Burmese root-words closely resemble Chinese root-words of similar meaning. As I have already shewn this of Japanese, to this extent Burmese root-words and Japanese

root-words are not so puzzlingly different as Mr. Lowell thinks. As he correctly says : "In more ways than one Burmese faintly suggests Chinese." I think there can be no question that they come from the same old common stock, and I shall endeavour to prove this so soon as I shall have examined Burmese more closely.



## ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

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### PART II.

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BY PERCIVAL LOWELL, ESQ.

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[*Read March 8th, 1893.*]

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### INCARNATIONS.

#### I.

The miracles, as I have hinted, are performed largely with an eye, at least one eye, to the public. To drench oneself with scalding water or to saunter unconcernedly across several yards of scorching coals are not in themselves feats that lead particularly to heaven, difficult as they may be to do. Esoterically regarded they are rather tests of the proficiency already attained in the Way of the Gods than portions of that way needing actually to be traversed. The real burning question in the matter is whether the believer be pure enough to perform them pleasurably. To establish such capability to one's own satisfaction in the first place, and to the wonder of an open-mouthed multitude in the second, are the objects the pious promoters have in view.

Not so the incarnations. They too, indeed, serve a double purpose. But whereas they are, like the miracles, measures of the value of the purity of the man, they are also practical mediums of exchange between the human spirit and the divine. Foregone for directly profitable ends, loss of self is the necessary price of an instant part in the kingdom of heaven.

Perhaps the most startling thing about these Japanese divine possessions is their number; unless it be that being so numerous they should have remained so long unknown. But it is to be remembered that what no one is interested to reveal may stay a long while hid. With quite Anglican etiquette the Japanese never thought to introduce their divine guests and their foreign ones to each other. Once introduced the two must have met at every turn. Indeed the shadowy forms of this spirit world remind one of the ghost-like figures in certain pictures, fancifully hidden in the outlines of more familiar shapes, till, by some chance divined, they start out to view to remain ever after the most conspicuous things there.

Thoroughly religious, the possessions are not in the least hierarchic. In theory esoteric enough, in practice they are, in the older sense of that word, profane. For god-possession is no perquisite of the priests. It is freely permitted to all the sufficiently pure. It is sanctioned and guided by the church but indulged in by the pious generally. Indeed if ease of intercourse be any proof of relationship the Japanese people certainly make good their claim to direct descent from their gods. For they pass in and out of the world beyond as if it were part of this one below.

Purity is the one pre-requisite to divine-possession, and though to acquire sufficient purity be an art it is an art patent rather in the older unindividualized sense of the word. Anyone who is pure may give lodgment to a god just as any plutocrat may entertain modern royalty. The gods are no respecters of persons. They condescend to visit wherever due preparation is made for them. It is the host's house not the host that is to them the important matter. Indeed the presence of the host himself is graciously dispensed with. The man's mind must have been vacated of all meaner lodgers, including himself, before the god will deign to habit it, but who the man is is immaterial. Such humble folk as barbers and fishmongers are among the most favored entertainers of divinity.

But the social standing of the god, on the other hand, is a most material point in the matter. For mere association with the supernatural is not in Japan necessarily a question of piety or even of impiety. Often it is pure accident. To become possessed by a devil, of which bewitchment by a fox is the commonest form, may be so purely an act of that devil that no blame beyond carelessness attaches to the unfortunate victim. Religion far from claims sole intercourse with the unseen. What religion does claim is the ability to admit one to the very best heavenly society. For to say nothing of mere animal spirits there are all grades in gods, good gods and bad gods, great gods and little ones. Intimacy with the most desirable divinities is the privilege to which the church holds the keys.

Capability to commune is thus in a general way endemic, much as salvation is held to be in some places, or infant damnation in others. To Japanese thought the gods are immanent in everything. Unsuspected as such presence be by foreigners, to the people themselves the gods are as real as they are numerous, which is saying a vast deal. After due introduction to their angustnesses one is tempted to include them in the census and to consider the population of the empire as composed of natives, globe-trotters and gods.

The gods resemble the globe-trotters in this, that both are a source of profit to the people. For finding themselves in communication with the superhuman, the Japanese early turned the intimacy to practical account. They importuned these their relatives for that of which men stand most in need, the curing of disease. Out of this arose a national school of divinopathy.

Civilized cousins of the medicine men of North America and of the shamans of savage tribes the world over, the Japanese practitioners differ from other members of the profession in the widespread popular character of their craft. For though all the practitioners are religious men, all priests are not practitioners. The regular religious course and

the divine medical school both hold of the same Alma Mater, the Church, but otherwise they are distinct. Graduates of the one may or may not be graduates of the other. Perhaps the two might with more exactness be described as internes and externes, for they differ rather in relation to the world than in relation to their pursuit.

These doctors of divinity are thus divided into two classes, priests and lay practitioners. The latter are the more numerous. Nowadays, when everything is reduced to a bureaucratic system, both classes receive regular diplomas, without which they are not allowed to practise. Nominally they are not allowed to practise with them, for in the certificates no mention is made of the special object for which the certificates are issued. In them permission is granted merely to perform prayer, which comprehensive phrase covers a multitude of pious acts.

The reason the certificates read so beautifully vague is not that religion conceives her esoteric cults to be so profoundly secret, but that the Government imagines them to be barbarous because supposed not to be in keeping with foreign manners and customs. At the same time the paternal powers that be dare not proscribe them altogether. The fact is they are both too Japanese to be countenanced and too Japanese to be suppressed; so the authorities wink at their practice. The Japanese Government is in more matters than this one in much the same awkward state of mind as the Irish legislator who declared himself to be "for the bill but agin its enforcement."

Except for a difference in degree, the principal distinction between the priests who practise and the practising lay brethren lies in the professional or avocational character of their performance. The priests, of course, have no other business than to be pious, and to be temporarily a god is an easy extension to being perpetually godlike. The lay brethren practise only as an outside calling, each having

his mundane trade to boot. The above-mentioned barber for example besides industriously shaving man, woman and child—this detail of the toilet being unrestricted in Japan—was able to carry on a very lucrative business as a popular other-world physician. He made no analogue of the European barber surgeon of times gone by. No particular pursuit has a preference of the divine practice ; barbers being no better than other folk in the eyes of the god. A divinopathist's earthly trade may be anything under heaven. Plastering and clerking in a wine shop are among the latest specimen occupations I have met with of men thus engaged in business both with this world and the next.

Divinopathy has certainly one great advantage over other schools of medicine : by the very preparation for healing others the physician incidentally heals himself. For the mere qualification to be a practitioner is itself a preventive to earthly ills ; much as vaccination precludes small-pox. The only question might be whether the cure be not worse than the complaint. After an account of the rigid self-discipline to be undergone before a diploma be possible and then largely kept up for it to continue in force, I think it will seem uncommonly open to the doubt. Yet there are plenty of men who lead this life of daily hardship and renunciation for the explicit purpose of enjoying the life they renounce ; just as many an invalid will give up all that makes life worth living for the sake of living the undesirable residue longer.

The character of the company sought is what renders such self-mortification necessary. It is only for really good heavenly society that great discomfort need be undergone. Inferior gods permit intimacy on much easier terms. Ordinary *ichiko*, or fortune-tellers, for instance, whose deities rank much lower, go through no such severe preparation. Gods of high rank stand as much on their dignity as men. I remember once a very superior person, as gods go, who grew quite angry because

I asked him a question he deemed it beneath him to answer, although he had descended on purpose to impart information, and told me, very up and down, to go to *Inarisama*, the god of agriculture, for trivialities of the sort.

But although it be a good thing to take care of oneself, the chief employment with the doctors in this as in more earthly schools of medicine is the cure of other people. The higher practitioners hold office hours in the temple and prescribe for patients on application. The less exalted receive at home and also pay divine calls on the sick, bringing their paraphernalia with them. As with earthly systems, the itinerant or stationary character of the doctor depends both upon his rank and upon the rank of the patient. The customary honorarium for a visit is, I am professionally informed, from fifty cents to a dollar. This always takes the form of a gratuity and is never expected of the poor. When it is considered that a Japanese dollar is worth but two-thirds of our own, the fee does not seem excessive considering the divine character of the physician. But to have any marketable value at all, even of an honorary kind, is a great thing. It very nearly disposes off-hand of such scepticism as would doubt the reality of revelation when a single afternoon's worth of it is held so high. Here again appears strikingly the relative value of the personage; the price an *ichiko* charges to be possessed being but five cents a head per god.

The investment in either case should be satisfactory; especially in the matter of the higher gods; for the prescription is at once divine and direct. The god practically always descends on application and vouchsafes his opinion as to the cure of the complaint. Of course his prescriptions are religiously followed and, if report speak truth, with an unusually large percentage of success. Any and all diseases are thus cured on presentation, subject only to the willingness of the god. This proviso satisfactorily explains the few unfortunate failures.

Divine-possession is not limited in its applications to the curing of disease. Naturally the divine opinion is quite as valuable on other subjects as on medicine, and is consequently quite as much in demand. From the nature of the gods themselves to the weather for the coming month, anything a man may want to know is thus enquired about of deity. Due care only must be exercised to grade the importance of the question to the importance of the gods. Mere fortune-telling is no part of true religion. Questions of cures and of creed alone are dignified enough for the church; cures and coming cataclysms for the pilgrim clubs. For mere social complications the *ichiko* is the person to interview.

Owing to the ups and downs of Shintō consequent upon the introduction of Buddhism twelve centuries ago, and then upon the revival in these latter days of the old Japanese spirit, the practice of divine-possession is in a somewhat mixed state. Terms, like *gyoja*, not pure Shintō, have come to be employed side by side with terms that are. Words like *gyoja* belong to what is called Ryōbu Shintō or simply Ryōbu, "Both," meaning a mixture of both Shintō and Buddhism; for during the middle ages, there arose this hybrid, in whose hands many of the old customs, and notably this one of god-possession were preserved. Since the revival the Ryōbuists have nearly all been affiliated again with Shintō. Besides the Ryōbu possessions, there are some Buddhist ones. That these show intrinsic evidence of having all originally been Shintō I shall try to show later. As present it will be better to give an account, as it appears to-day, of the divine act of possession, before taking up the question of the mundane possession of the act.

## II.

*Gyoja*, translated, means "a man of austerities"; and heaven is witness that he is. Short of actual martyrdom I can imagine few thornier paths to perfection. He would

seem to need a cast iron constitution to stand the strain he cheerfully puts upon it. Even to be a *shinja* or "believer," where a much less strenuous regimen is required, strikes the unregenerate as the personification of the austere. Though *shinja* means modestly only "a believer," the amount of works this simple believer must perform before his faith is enough to be accepted would appal most people.

And yet it all sounds so simple too. For the one thing needful to insure divine-possession is purity. If you are pure, that is blank, enough, you can easily give habitation to a god. Now some men are born purer than others, but none are by nature quite pure enough. Additional vacuity must somehow be acquired, the amount varying not only with the man but with the rank of the god by whom he desires to be possessed. To reach this state of mental nonentity is the object of the austerities (*gyō*).

The curriculum has this in common with more secular ones, that whoso goes in at the one end usually comes out at the other, unless he tires of protracted austerity and quits in the middle. The fact that so many graduate shows that no extraordinary capacity is required to do so; unless indeed the word be used in its negative sense. Plodding perseverance is what wins the day. For the course is momentarily most arduous and momentarily long.

To the purification of the spirit the road lies through the cleansing of the body. To this end the two chief exercises are washing (*suigyō*) and fasting (*danjiki*). Unlimited bathing with most meagre meals; such is the backbone of the regimen. The external treatment being the more important of the two claims notice first.

Washing is the most obvious kind of purification the world over. Cleanliness, we say, is next to godliness; though at times in individual specimens the two seem none too close. But in Japan cleanliness very nearly is godliness.



This charming compatibility is due possibly to the godliness being less, but certainly chiefly to the cleanliness being more.

Even secularly the Japanese are supernaturally cleanly. Every day of their lives forty millions of people parboil like one. Nor do they hurry themselves in the act. The nation spends an inordinate amount of its time in the national tub; as becomes pecuniarily apparent when you hire a man by the day or, stranger yet, by the job. You are tempted at times to suppose your toiler continuously teeing or tubbing. Doubtless such totality is due to emotional exaggeration on your part, but it is beyond prejudice that he soaks in his tub a good working minority of his time.

When it comes to religious matters it really seems as if the estimable quality were carried to its inevitable defect. For from a pardonable pastime bathing here becomes an all-engrossing pursuit. The would-be *gyōja* spends his waking life at little else, and he sleeps less than most men at that. Not only is it his bounden duty to bathe six appointed times in every twenty-four hours, but he should also bathe as often as he may between. The more he bathes the better he becomes.

Now if he simply soaked in a hot water tub as his profane friends do this might be merely the exstatic height of dissipation. But he does nothing of the kind. No gentle parboiling is his portion; perpetual gooseflesh rather is his lot. For in his case not even an amelioration of nature is allowed. Whatever the season of the year his ablutions must be made in water of untempered temperature, fresh from the spring; in winter a thing of cold comfort indeed (*kangyo*.) What is more he takes this uncongenial application in the mode to produce the most poignant effect—with the shock of a shower-bath.

Esoterically there are grades in the cleansing capabilities of shower-baths. For him who would reach the height

of purity the correct thing is to walk under a waterfall and be soured. This luxury is of course only to be had in the hills. In default of a waterfall, a douche from a dipper will do. But on religious grounds it is not to be recommended. A souse by a stream is always to be preferred to a self-sousing.

Man-made methods are imperative in town owing to the lack of natural ones, which is one reason why the hills are the proper habitat for novitiates to the higher life. In the good old days such habitat was a necessity, not that men were less pure then but on the contrary that they strove to become yet purer. When *gyojas* were *gyojas*, they were anchorites pure and simple. They dwelt as hermits among the hills, seeing no man by the space of three years, and reducing themselves as near as might be to a complete state of nature of the inoffensive kind; the herbivorous not the carnivorous variety of animal, as their diet will show. After they had thus become quite detached from all that specially constitutes humanity, they returned to the world to live hermetically in the midst of it, repairing again at suitable seasons to mountaineering meditation. Such were the men who opened, as the consecrated phrase is, Ontaké, that is who first succeeded in reaching its sacred summit.

But *gyojas* have deteriorated with the world as large. They are far from being what they were, so far that a conscientious man hardly feels that he has the right to call himself a *gyoja* at all, as one of the class humbly informed me. He blushed, he said, when he thought of the austerities of the olden time. A modern *gyoja* was little more austere than a *shinja* who made his summer pilgrimages when he could. This was perhaps a gloomy view to take of the situation, for one usually finds the past not so superior to the present as report represents. But, even at its worst it would seem only a case for professional

sympathy. For whatever the regimen may have been there is at all events enough severity left to satisfy any decent desire for self-martyrdom.

That mountains should be deemed peculiarly advisable spots from which to enter another world is not unnatural. Their inclinations rendering them incapable of cultivation, they rise superior to the distractions of life. Offered no more companionable objects than rocks, trees and grass, the dweller there may the more effectively meditate himself into inanity. Unjogged by suggestion the mind finds it easier to lapse, and the man eventually to exist on the border-land of trance. But as it is not convenient for everybody to retire to the hills for three years at a time, it has been found possible to combine purity enough for possession with a tolerably secular existence. The *gyo* in the two cases differ only as a state of nature differs from a condition of civilization.

This brings us back again to the bath with which we are not nearly done. If the neophyte be not taking the waterfall in all simplicity on his head, he is out-doing Diogenes by living not simply in his tub but tubbing. A cold-water douche begins the day, another marks its meridian and a third brings it to a close. But the day does not bring the douche to a close. Just before turning in the devotee must take another dip, after which it might indeed be thought that he should sleep in peace. But such would not be rigor enough. The most vital ablution of all, the *crux purificationis*, occurs at 2 A.M. (*yatsugyo*). At this unearthly hour the poor creature must wake himself up, stagger half asleep to the waterfall or the bathroom or courtyard, souse himself or be soused by nature while his teeth chatter a prayer and his fingers twist themselves into cabalistic knots, he himself shivering from top to toe; then, brought up standing in this manner, try if he may to sleep again. At best his doze may not be for long, for at the dawn he must douche again (*hinodegyo*).

Unearthly may the hour advisedly be called, for it is for precisely this attribute that the time is chosen. At that dead of night when every sound is hushed and even the plants lie locked in sleep, the gods can the better hear. And this oddly enough in spite of their own spatterings and sputterings. For the gods themselves are then taking their baths, the gods of the mountains under their waterfalls and the gods of the plain in their rivers. In Japan even the gods wash and are clean; and like mere man apparently make of the bath a time of social reunion and merriment. They bear nevertheless and reward the bather accordingly.

With a *shinja* this nocturnal exercise is optional. It all depends upon how pure he intends to become. Of course it is a great deal better to be thorough and not for the sake of the flesh to shirk profit to the soul. A little more bathing can certainly do no harm—unless it kill, which is not german to the matter.

Extras are to be taken *ad libitum* by all. The rule is: when in doubt, douche.

This extremelavatory exercise lasts indefinitely,—as long as the devotee can stand it. And in diminishing doses it is kept up through life. To those who perform it in all its rigor under the waterfalls in the hills the gods graciously shows signs of accepted favor. For round the head of the holy as he stands beneath the fall, the sunlight glancing through the spray rims a halo which all men may see and the reverent recognize as proof of sanctity. The sceptic may possibly ascribe it to a different cause, having perchance seen the like around the shadow of his own head cast, as he sat in the saddle, upon the clipped grass of the polo field. He will certainly do so when he perceives similar ones about the heads of his godless friends. Yet that abandoned character, Benvenuto Cellini, on suddenly remarking one day an aureole radiating from the reflection of his head in the water, took it for sign certain that his salvation was assured.

So much for the fresh water cure. To sum it up in a maxim—adapting to its gentler warfare with the spirits of evil Danton's celebrated one about war in general—we may say that the three essentials to success in it are:—*De l'eau douce! de l'eau douce! et encore de l'eau douce!*

### III.

Fasting (*danjiki*) is the next mortification to the flesh. The poor brute of a body unequally yoked to so indomitable a spirit fares ill. For it is deprived at once both of superficial gratification and of solid nourishment. The would-be pure must abstain from meat, from fish, from things cooked and, comprehensively, from whatever has taste or smell. In short he should lead gastronomically an utterly insipid existence. He may not even indulge in the national tea, a beverage tasteless and bodyless enough in all conscience to escape proscription. Salt is specially to be shunned (*shiwodachi*). It is worth noting that on the way to a higher life the apparently harmless chloride of sodium should work as banefully within a man as it works beneficially without him.

Greater deprivation than all these, even tobacco falls under the ban. In this earthly paradise of smokers where the use of the weed rises superior to sex, it seems indeed hard that only those dedicate to deity should be debarred it. But the road to immaterial narcoticism knows no material narcotic by the way. After he has attained to a holy calm without it the lay brother returns to indulgence in this least gross form of sensuous gluttony. The professed ascetic continues to abjure it his life long.

Nuts and berries form the staple of the *gyōja's* diet if he be living a hermit among the hills, buckwheat flour if though not of the world he be still in it. He may also eat vegetables and dried persimmons and grapes in their season; but he must eat most sparingly of whatever it

be. One bowl of buck-wheat and a dish of greens at noon is sustenance enough for the day. Breakfast and supper are forbidden panderings to the flesh. To wash this next to nothing down cold water is allowed him, if his external applications have not already given him enough of it.

Not unnaturally a diet of such subtraction speedily reduces him to his lowest bodily terms, and in consequence to a simple mental state, which he still further reduces by more mental means.

To start with, the general character of his existence conduces to that end. Whether he be living an actual anchorite among the mountains or only a would-be one in town, solitude, complete or partial, tends by well-known laws to convert him into either a maniac or a simpleton. To a species of the latter it is his ambition to attain.

Endless repetitions of elementary prayers further this result. It would be hard indeed to over-estimate the efficacy of such process for producing utter blankness of mind. The subdued chanting by rote over and over again of words of which the thought has long since ceased to take notice, tends in a twofold manner to mental vacuity. There is just enough mental occupation to keep the mind from thinking of other things and so dull it to comparative inaction; and secondly, the rhythmic monotone is as potent a lullaby as any more consecrated cradle-song. The eventual end of both would be sleep; as we see with the latter in the case of an infant and in our own case with the former when we conquer our insomnia by methodically counting to a hundred, an indefinite number of times. The chanter does not attain to this supreme nirvana because his attention is not fixed on that end. But the soporific power of these preliminaries in helping to a virtuous vacancy of mind is quite specific.

To this same end, the more searching brother practises upon himself further ingenious devices. One of the most effective is the concentrating his whole

attention upon his own breathing. Mentally he scrutinizes each expiration—the inspirations appear to be somewhat better able to look after themselves—with molecular minuteness. Each breath as it passes in or out is thus subjected to the spirit's picket challenge. By giving his whole mind in this manner to the mere means of existence he effectually prevents any ideas from stealing into that mind unawares. After prolonged duty of the sort consciousness, like all really good sentinels, nods at her post; in which, unlike the good sentinels, lies the virtue of the deed, though quite unsuspected of the doer. For divine-possession in Japan like other Japanese things is not a science but an art. The religious reason given for the inspection is that by prayerful concentration upon this source of spirit one's evil spirit may be expelled and a good efflatus drawn in. One of the truly pious when quantitatively questioned told me he had thus kept watch on himself for three weeks at a time, only pausing in the pursuit unavoidably to eat and sleep. It is saddening to think to what farther tenuities he might not have attained had he not been thus grossly shakled to the flesh.

Ablutions and abstinence are thus the two great *gyo*; which endless prayers, mechanical finger charms and careful breathing help accentuate.

Besides the regular stock austerities there are several supererogatory ones. There is, for example, the *gyo* called *tsumadachi* which consists in walking on the tips of one's toes wherever one has occasion to go. A species of pious ballet-dancing this.

Then there is the austerity of never looking upon a woman's face. This austerity the ascetic who had practised it spoke of as a very severe self infliction indeed. But in view of the vast subjective disturbance wrought even unconsciously by the sex I should judge it to be one of the most essential austerities of all. For no man who is a man can take that absorbing interest in nothing at all

which the rules require while a pair of piquant eyes lead his poor fancy their irresistible dance. To be insensible to such charm were to have attained to complete insensibility already.

Compared with this renunciation the next *gyo* must be a positive pleasure. It consists in letting unlimited mosquitoes bite one to satiety for seven consecutive nights.

The aptitude of all these artifices to the result desired is more or less apparent; some tending to slow down the whole machine or by weakening the body or by tiring the mind, some to dull the sense perceptions by persistent inattention; all to reduce the brain to an unenergetic state. The road is unnecessarily long because originally discovered by chance and then blindly followed by succeeding ages without rational improvement. An immense amount of labor is thus in point of fact thrown away. How much quicker a like result can be attained by the application of a little science modern hypnotism shows.

There will have been noticed in the list of austerities a steady departure from primitive simplicity. Now this decrease in simplicity is strictly paralleled by the decrease in their respective use. Every body washed though comparatively few poised or their toes. Their several vogue is further paralleled by the position occupied by those who practised them in that long chain of mixed belief which dependent from pure Shintō at the one end is supported by Buddhism at the other. The mosquito ordeal for example is quite Buddhist, while abnormal ablutions are not. Now these two parallelisms viewed together are significant; of what will appear farther on.

What the Japanese sensations are during the process may be gathered from the personally narrated experience of one believer, since he sufficiently expresses the type. The given individual was first minded to become a practitioner in consequence of the surprising



cure through god-possession of his master's sick son. He was at the time apprenticed to a dyer and was off on a journey on the occasion when the cure was wrought. Much impressed on his return he determined to seek out the holy man who had effected the miraculous result and by following in his footsteps to attain himself to proficiency. The *gyōja* received him with other-world cordiality and kindly granted him his desire. For three weeks he was put to the washing (*suigyo*) and the fasting (*danjiki*) austerities in all their rigor. At the end of that time he was so weak he could hardly stand. One bowl of rice and a dish of greens a day are little enough to help one through such a course of ablutionary training. Nevertheless for fifty days more he kept on with but little addition to this meagre diet ; washing lavishly the while. At the close of this second period he relaxed somewhat and ate, as he expressed it, in moderation, that is immoderately little, the merest modicum of rice ; which ameliorated treatment of himself he kept up for the next three years. He was twenty when he went through his novitiate and sixty-three when he told me of it ; for the intervening forty-three years he had dieted and douched daily.

No very definite sensation follows, he said, the exercise of the austerities. He simply feels an increase in virtue ; whatever that may mean. It would seem to show itself in a practical form. For as he continues in the regimen he gets to know good and evil spontaneously. When a bit of good luck is coming to him or his family or a misfortune about to befall them, he feels it beforehand by a certain mental light-heartedness or a corresponding oppression of spirit. Finally he arrives at being able to foretell everything. Whether he can always avert what he is able to predict may be open to doubt. For immediately following this exposure of his capabilities the poor man contracted a very bad cold and was confined for a couple of weeks to his room.

He was, as the mention of his family showed, a married man. In this he was no exception to the rule. All lay-brethren marry as a matter of course. Indeed in Shintō proper the priests wed like anybody else. Nor do such as follow the austerities commit themselves in the least to celibacy. For matrimony and self-consecration to the gods do not, it appears, conflict. Either femininity on repeated doses loses its intoxicating effect or acquired sanctity renders the believer superior to its influence. Nowadays even *gyōja* wed without detriment to their souls. I am by no means sure that they did not in the olden time, for so commonplace a detail of a far-oriental's life as matrimony might well have escaped chronicling. Still there is no doubt that times have changed for the worse with *gyōjas*, as my *gyōja* averred. Even pecuniarily so much is evident. In the good old days they supported themselves solely on the offerings of grateful patients, in peace and plenty ; now alas ! as he said pathetically, these gratuities do not suffice and many a worthy soul is forced to eke out a slender subsistence by secular work in secret. Making toothpicks was the industry he affectingly instanced when pressed to be more explicit. To be driven to such extremity must seem indeed pitiable, even to the undevout.

Thus, then, do the pious get themselves into a general potential possibility of possession. Before possession becomes a fact, however, a short renewal of extreme austerities is needed, like the slight shake that precipitates an already unstable compound ; unless the practitioner happen to be in daily communion with the god. Otherwise on notice of a case to be cured he enters again the rigors of the washing and the fast ; and keeps them up for a week if he be thorough, two or three days if he be not. The amount of abstinence depends upon the gravity of the case. There is something highly satisfactory in this dieting of the physician in place of the patient. From the patient's point of view it instantly raises divinopathy above all other pathies on earth. Be-

sides it is more thoroughly logical. For why indeed should not the physician, if well paid for it, be expected to furnish all the elements of his cure!

#### IV.

We have now reached the function itself. That this is imposing in the first sense of that word, that is impressive, the hold it has had on man sufficiently testifies; that it is imposing in the second sense, that is a sham, is a supposition the first view of one of these trances would suffice to dispel.

The ceremony with which religion has surrounded the act is finely in keeping with the impressiveness of the act itself. So sense-compelling a service you shall find it hard to match in the masses of any other church. But more constraining still are the energy and the sincerity with which the whole is done. It is small wonder the already susceptible subject feels its charm when even bystanders are stirred.

As with the *gyo*, purification is its essence. For not only must a general purification antecede the act, but a special purification must immediately precede it. And first the spot must be holy. Now only one spot is holy by nature: the sacred mountain, Ontaké. All others must be purified. These may be of two kinds: temples public or private, for most houses have what is called a gods' shelf, which does them for family shrine; and ordinary rooms. The first are kept perpetually purified; the second are specially purified for the occasion.

If there be no permanent shrine, a temporary one is constructed. Its central motif is a *gohei* upon a wand, stood upright in a stand. By the side of the *gohei* are lighted candles and flanking these sprigs of *sakaki*, the sacred tree of Shintō. In front of the *gohei* is set out a feast for the god. This varies in elaborateness according to the occasion, its principal dishes

being a bowl of rice, a saucer of salt, a cup of *saké*. In addition to these indispensables every form of uncooked human food may be offered to the god according to the sumptuousness of the repast it is desired to give him.

The shrine is set up in the *tokonoma* or recess of honor of the room. Overhead is usually hung a hanging scroll of the gods of Ontaké. Some five feet in front of the *tokonoma*, in the centre of the sacred space, a porous earthenware bowl is placed upon a stand and in the bowl is built a pyre of incense sticks, usually beginning as a log-hut and ending as a wigwam.

Then the place is purified. This is done by enclosing the room or the part of it in front of the shrine by strings from which hang at intervals small *gohei*. The most usual arrangement of these is the so-called seven-five-three (*shichi-go-san*) pattern; the seven being nearest the shrine, the fives on the sides and the three at the farther end. From the space so enclosed all evil spirits are driven out by prayer, by finger-charms, by the sprinkling of salt, by the striking of sparks from a flint and steel and by the brandishing of a *gohei*-wand used as an exorcizing air-broom.

After the purification of the place the next duty of the officiators is the purification of their persons. They all go out to the well or to the bath-room to bathe, and return clad in the Ontaké pilgrim dress, a single white garment stamped with the names of the Ontaké gods, with the name of the mountain itself and with the signs of their *kō* or pilgrim club. For as we shall see more particularly later, all officiators, in the ordinary kind of trance, whether priests or laymen, are enrolled in some Ontaké pilgrim club. This solitary garment is bound about the waist, by a similar white girdle.

In their full complement these officiators consist of eight persons. There is first the man whom the god is to possess. He is called the *nakaza* or seat-in-the-midst. Equal to him

in consideration is the *mau* who presides over the function and who is to talk with deity, the exorcist, so to speak, called the *maeza* or seat-in-front. Next in religious rank is the *wakiza* or side seat. He is one of the *shiten* or four heavens, specialized as the *tōhō* or eastern side, the *hoppō* or northern side, the *nambō* or southern side and the *saihō* or western side. Their duty is to ward off evil influences from all quarters—our English word testifying to the same comprehensive division. The two front ones also have the charge of the paraphernalia and the *nambō* the care of the patient. In addition to these six there is a deputy *maeza* and a sort of clerk of court. The impersonality of these names is worth noting. It is the post not the person that is designated.

Severally clapping their hands the company now enter upon the ceremony proper. This consists of two parts ; a general purification service separated by a pause and a rearrangement from the communion service itself. The one is an essential preface to the other and, though quite distinct, the second may never be performed alone.

From the moment he claps his hands each begins upon a chain of finger-charms of the effective uncouthness of which it is difficult to convey any idea in words. They are called *in-musubi* or *seal-bindings*, which describes their intent and incidentally their appearance. The fingers are tied by very realistic jerks into cat's cradle knots, resolved like them each into the next. The tying is timed to consecrated formulae repeated so energetically they sound like links of inarticulate passion. The seal-bindings are themselves sealed by a yet simpler digital device called *kujī*, or the nine characters.

When each man has thus launched himself into the incantation, the *maeza* starts one of the purification prayers (*harai*), into which the others instantly fall. The prayer chosen to begin with is usually the *misogi no harai*. It is a chant chiefly in monotone, only

occasionally lapsing for a note into the octave or the fifth. Every now and then a chanter sinks into a guttural grunt as if mentally fatigued, very suggestive of a mechanical dulling of the mind.

The *harai* over, or rather bridged by some of the company, the *maeza* starts another, the rest take it in swing, and the eight are off again on a second rhythmic rite. In this manner prayer after prayer is intoned and *uta* or songs chanted in like cadence between. Shakings of the *shajugo*, a small crozier with metal rings, emphasize the rhythm and the pilgrim bells rung at intervals point the swift processional chorus of the whole.

The pyre is then lighted and as the flames leap into the air, prayers ascend with them to Fudo sama. Meanwhile pieces of paper with characters inscribed on them are rapidly passed to and fro through the flame by the *maeza* without burning, an immunity due it is supposed to super-human agency. Then they are slowly held there by him till they catch fire and are caught upward, by the air-current, ashen ghosts of their former selves. The paper is in effigy of the disease and according as it ascends or fails to do so, will the disease itself depart or cling. Some say the manner of its ascension only is significant. But mark how pitying are the gods. For inasmuch as the flame makes its own draft, that must indeed be an unlucky wraith of tissue ash that fails of being well caught up with it to heaven.

More chanting brings the purification service to a close.

The bowl that held the pyre is removed, and sheets of paper are laid in the centre of the sacred space in the new places the performers are to occupy. Then the *gohei*-wand is brought down from the shrine and stood up in the midst.

The men take their seats for the descent of the god. Up to this time they squat on their heels in the usual Japanese fashion; from now on they sit with folded legs, the exalted

seat of old Japan. The *meaza* seats himself first opposite and facing the shrine, folds his legs in front of him and then drawing his dress over them ties it together from the sides and then brings the farther end up and ties it to his girdle. This is the usual Japanese mode of tying up any bundle. The others do the same, the *shiten* seating themselves at the four corners, and the deputy-*maeza* and clerk by the side of the *maeza*. The *nakaza* as yet is unseated, officially speaking.

All face the *gohei* and go through a further short incantation. Then the *wakiza* reverently removes the *gohei*-wand and holds it while the *nakaza* seats himself where it was, facing from the shrine, tucks himself in as the others did and closes his eyes. In some cases the tucking in is done by everybody at the same time. After some finger-twistings and prayer on the part of the *nakaza* and the *maeza*, the *nakaza* brings his hands together in front of him and the *maeza*, taking the *gohei*-wand from the *wakiza*, places it between them. Then all the others join in chant, watching for the effect.

For a few minutes, the time varying with the particular *nakaza*, the man is perfectly motionless. Then suddenly, the wand begins to quiver, the quiver gains intermittently in strength till all at once the man is seized with a convulsive throe—the throe as we say in truth, of one possessed. In some trances the eyes then open, the eyeballs being rolled up half out of sight; in other cases the eyes remain shut. Then the throe subsides again to a permanent quiver, the eyes, if open, fixed in the trance look, the look of one not on earth nor yet in heaven. The man has now become the god.

The *maeza*, bowed down, then reverently asks the name of the god and the god answers. He then prefers his petitions, to which the god makes reply.

When he has asked what he will and the god has finished replying, the *nakaza* falls forward on his face.

The *maeza* concludes with a prayer; then striking the *nakaza* on the back eventually wakes him up. One of the others gives the *nakaza* water from a cup and when he has been able to swallow it, the rest set to and rub the man's arms and body out of their cataleptic contraction. For at first it is practically impossible to take the wand from his unnatural grip.

Such is the usual form of the trance ceremony. It is the Ryobu-Shintō form; because since the lapse of Shintō twelve centuries ago until the other day relatively speaking, the act was chiefly practised by that combination of the Shintō and the Buddhist cults in which alone Shintō practically survived the paralyzing power of Buddhism during the middle ages. At the official purification of Shintō at the time of the Restoration and the consequent abolition of Ryobu, most of those practising the hybrid formally returned into the Shintō fold and now hold certificates from the heads of the Shintō sects. At the same time the Shintō high-priests, as a part of the same movement, revived the archaic form of the ceremony and practise that in their head temples to-day. An account of it I shall give later. I would instance first some examples of the common practice and of the Buddhist variety of the thing.

## V.

Although eight men are considered the proper number for a full presentation of the function, so many are not really vital to its performance. Two are all that are absolutely essential; one to be possessed and one to hear what the god may deign to say. I have seen trances with officiators in number anywhere from two to nine. One man alone would be sufficient were it not a part of the rite that someone should hear the god's words; for one man can take the parts of both *maeza* and *nakaza* serially, doing the *maeza*'s part for the preliminary purification and the *nakaza*'s



for the possession itself. In this case the second man acts as *wakiza*. Ordinarily, however, when two men take part one is the *maza* and the other the *nakaza* from the beginning to the end. With three men the third is *wakiza*. Of this kind was the possession upon Ontaké, in the case of the three irrepressibles.

My first example shall be the first possession I had given in my own house. A priest of the Shinshiu kyo, one of the present Shintō sects, came with an assistant as *wakiza*.

He began by hanging up in the room's recess of honor a scroll depicting the deities associated with Ontaké. There were nine of their Augustnesses in three triangular triads, shown standing on conspicuously hazardous pinnacles of a conventionally precipitous tri-peaked mount in conventionally inapt attitudes. They all wore the comfortable cast of countenance and generally immaculate get up quite incompatible with ever getting up a mountain. This, of course, proved their divinity. The great god of Ontaké stood commandingly on the highest peak flanked by two lesser Shintō divinities perched on somewhat lower ones; below stood Fudosama,—a Buddhist conglomerate god from nobody knows exactly where, popularly worshipped as the god of fire, which it is certain he was not,—together with two companions. These were in mid-heaven of ascent. Still lower down came three canonized saints of Ryobu, the men who had opened the mountain as it is called, that is who had first succeeded in getting to the top; for which feat they were now rewarded by being placed humbly at the bottom. The priest had been himself tinctured of Ryobu and the relative sovereignty of the two classes of gods is worth notice, for such is their invariable ranking in these Ryobu, pictures; a relation which says something about the ancestry of the act.

He set up the shrine in the usual manner and built the usual incense pyre in front. The log-lut and wigwam

were so daintily constructed—to say nothing of the time they took in building—it seemed pitiful they should be made but to be so soon destroyed.

Then the priest bathed and changed his dress for the Ontaké pilgrim robe, the very one in which he had himself several times made the ascent, and which was therefore correspondingly pure. It showed this unmistakeably. I think it was perhaps the dirtiest dress I have ever seen; at all events it was the most self evidently so. It convinced at once of holiness.

But indeed superficial soiling with inward purity is to be expected of such vestments. It is themselves not their clothes the righteous rightly wash.

Through the garment's present grimy grey, there glimmered traces of red characters; the stamped certificates, these, of his ascents. Time had freed them from garish ostentation and their glory, enhanced by being hidden in an ideographic tongue, come out the finer for being mellowed by age. It was a happy thought that induced the wearer later to give it to me; for it now rests from its wanderings among my most valued possessions.

First as *maeza* the man faced the shrine and if mere unearthly effect be any gauge of unearthly efficacy his incantation was eminently successful. In finger charms he was specially deft, and when he lighted the pyre and wove his spell over it the weirdness of the pantomime and its strange setting irresistibly caught one's own fancy in its spell. The incense flame lapped the pyre with seemingly conscious intent and then leapt longingly up into the void, sending its soul in aromatic surges of smoke to be lost amid the wood-panelled ceiling of the room. From without the glow of dying day stole through the sliding screens to tinge the gloom within. And then pervading it all like a perfume rose the chant of the pilgrim-clad petitioner,

subduing sense to some rich-hued dream. In the middle ground behind sat the assistant statuesquely bowed in silent prayer.

When the last embers of the pyre had burnt themselves out and the orange was slowly fading to ash, the priest paused, removed the bowls, seated himself in the *nakaza's* place, facing out from the shrine, took the *gohei* wand in both hands, and shut his eyes. After a few motionless minutes, the wand suddenly shook convulsively, struck the man's forehead violently and then with like frenzy the floor. Then it came back quivering to its former position before his face. I say "it," for in truth it seemed rather it than he that caused the shaking. Then the throe repeated itself. Trembling one moment, it would start into violent action the next, till at last the man fell face forward upon it and the floor.

The assistant advanced, raised the possessed to a sitting posture and then fell to thumping him on the back and chest to wake him. This energetic treatment brought him sufficiently to himself to be able to articulate for water. But when the glass was put to his lips he bit it to pieces in his frenzied efforts to drink. By good chance he neither cut himself nor swallowed any of the pieces.

When his senses had fully returned and his arms had been well kneaded we carried him on to the veranda, his legs still rigid in catalepsy. There they had to be violently rubbed and jerked into a natural state again. His pulse had been eighty-four when he began upon his incantation; it was one hundred and twenty when he came to.

When sufficiently recovered he went and bathed, and on returning his first question was whether he had spoken in the trance. When he was told that he had not uttered a syllable he was much chagrined. He had hoped, he said, to have astounded us by speaking English when possessed, a tongue of which, in the normal state, he knew nothing. That he might be permitted to do so had been his petition as

*maeza*. Such supernatural powers, he assured us, were often vouchsafed by the gods ; and he mentioned an Englishman (the only trace I have come across of a previous foreigner in the subject) who had been thus possessed twenty years before in Kōbe and who, though knowing no Japanese in his natural state, spoke it fluently in the trance.

The next example shall be one typical of the average unpretentious trance, the participants being all simple-minded farmers of the suburbs of Tōkyō. There were five of them, all members of the Five Cardinal Virtues Pilgrim Club. The shrine was the simplest possible and the banquet offered the god of the meagrest. No picture was hung in the recess and the pyre was not elaborate.

The *maeza* and the *nakaza* had both been up Ontaké, more than once ; the other three were as yet ascensionless but hopeful the lot might soon fall upon them, their finances having up to date only permitted them to travel so far in fancy.

Purification prayers and purification songs—the *misogi-no-harai*, the *rokkon-shōjō-no-harai* and the *nakatomi-no-harai* and several *uta*—were duly intoned, the *nakaza* in this case being specially active because otherwise the leading spirit of the company. All five were clad in their Ontaké ascension robes although the greater number were simply, as has been said, piously anticipating that event.

The possession itself took place with open eyes and was interesting only for the rise and fall of its crises. The wand shook frenziedly, settled before the man's face, the god spake and then with an "*agaru*," "I ascend," the man fell forward collapsed ; to be roused again by further incantation. Five several times this cycle was gone through before the possession was brought to a close and the man waked up. Five separate gods had come in turn.

I will now introduce a function with the full force of the *dramatis personæ*. It also was performed in my own

house, by the Mi-Kagura kō or August Dance Pilgrim Club, dance in this case meaning literally, gods' pleasure. There were eight participants, the parts of *maeza*, *nakaza*, the *four shinten*, the deputy *maeza* and the clerk of court being taken respectively by a plasterer, a lumber-dealer, a rice-shopman, a carpenter, a pawnbroker, a pattern-designer, a fishmonger, and a maker of *mizuhiki*, those red and white paper strings with which the Japanese tie bow-knots for good luck about their gifts. Quite a representative board of trade in fact. The plasterer was the president of the club and the pawnbroker its treasurer. This last was a mere coincidence; his earthly calling not being, so I was informed, what specially commended him to the more spiritual office.

On the day appointed they turned up, *more Japannico*, pre-punctually. A polite, but at first aggravating national custom, this appearance of a guest considerably before the time for which he was invited. They came in detachments; the baggage leading with the president and clerk. It was at once set up in place together with several other essentials provided by me beforehand at the request of the club. The list of these last was the better part of a foot long and footed up to exactly thirty one cents and a third.

*Kunitokodachinomikoto*, the great god of Ontaké, suitably pedestalled upon the mountain and flanked by his followers, was suspended in the recess, in front of which stood a *gohei* bosomed in springs of Shintō's sacred tree, the dark green gloss of the leaves bringing out vividly the white paper flounces of the symbol of the god. Sentinelling it stood two candles speared upon their candlesticks. A modest repast of salt and raw rice lay below and a *saké* bottle not innocent of real *saké*. In front of the feast, in a pair of saucers, two tiny wicks made points of light, floating in rapeseed oil.

In the middle of the sacred space, duly enclosed by pendent *gihai* in the seven-five-three arrangement, was built the symbolic primeval shanty of incense sticks. The place was then purified by prayer, by striking of sparks from a flint and steel and by air-dusting with the *gohei* at each of the four corners. After which the eight severally stole out to the bathroom to bathe and returned one after the other clad in the pilgrim dress. The bathing is as much a part of the rite as any other; and is often quite as publicly performed. In the case of a fire-crossing (*hi-watari*) I have seen the holy performers strip and bathe quite naturally at a convenient well right before the waiting populace of men, women and children. The bathing is done with exorcist accompaniment of finger-charms, pointing the pauses between the dips. Cleanliness and godliness thus go hand in hand.

When the last was back again before the altar, the eight launched in a body swingingly upon one of the purification prayers, the *maeza* as usual leading off. Very impressive these purification prayers are. As the chant swelled it sounded like and yet unlike some fine mass of the church of Rome. With a faster rythm it swept along, a spiritual military charge: and somewhere within one it touched a chord that vibrated in reminiscence and one saw in vision Ontaké and the long pilgrim file tramping with measured tread to the top.

Intoned in monotone, it was pointed with pantomime, those strange digital contortions, the finger-twists. I suppose to one looking on for the first time nothing about the function would seem so far out of all his world as the finger-charms. The semi-suppressed vehemence with which the knots are tied, the uncanny look of the knots themselves and the strange abandonment of the whole man, body and soul, into the act, produce an effect that is weird in the extreme. Symbolic of bodily action you feel the force of the originals in these their effigies.

They typify pretty much every act germane to the occasion. Some drive the evil spirits off; some constrain the good to descend; and so realistic are the signs, the beings to whom they are addressed grow real too. Like a talk at a telephone the half that is heard conjures up of itself the half that is inaudible. And their uncanniness clothes these conjurings with the character of the supernatural. You almost think to see both the devils and the gods.

About them there is a compelling fascination in spite of their repellant uncouthness. If one seek to unravel his sensation from the mesh in which it lies caught he will find the charm of the thing to consist, I think, in energetic rhythm. For it has something of the cadence of a dance; yet unlike a dance it is not pleasing in itself. It is indeed the height of inartistic art; its very uncouthness has a certain grace, the grace of the ungraceful masterfully done.

If such be the force of the charm acting quite simply upon the dispassionate, what must its hold not be upon the believer, set as it is by the mordant of faith! And then as chant and charm roll on in some swift processional, suddenly the brass ringed croziers (*shakujō*) ring together in double time, joining with it their jingle as of passing bells.

Prayer after prayer followed thus in purification. Each in turn rose, swelled and sank only to rise again, in long billows of sound buoying one's senses to sensations as of the sea, indefinitely infinite. Crest after crest swept thus over thought, drowning all reflection in a vague vastness of its own. One felt quite contentedly full of nothing at all; in that semi-exstastic state when discrimination has lapsed into a supreme sense of satisfaction; when the charms seemed as enchanting as the chant and the chant as charming as the charms. The portal this to the seventh heaven of ineffable passivity.

A lull like a loud noise broke in upon the half-dream when the *maeza* stopped to light the pyre. Then as the

flame leapt ceiling-ward the chant rose with it, the two seemingly together. Tongues of flame three feet high darted upward to transform suddenly into clouds of opal smoke that, surging, floated off and then slowly settled down. Through the flame the *mæza* passed the usual written sheets emblematic of disease; passed them deliberately to and fro, yet did they not burn. Then letting each stay there motionless a moment it suddenly burst into flame. As it did so the chant swelled. The shrivelled shape wavered an instant, hesitatingly poised and then rose with the chant toward the rafters of the room. Its prayer had been heard and granted.

Then other things were passed through the flame to gain like virtue; each man thus purified his rosary, with which he then rubbed what part of his body he wished to be pure and strong; and finally the *gohei* itself for quintessence of purification, was taken for the altar, purified by the fire and then put back in place.

This finished the first service. In the interlude that followed the incense altar was removed, sheets of paper spread on the mats in its stead and the *gohei*-wand taken from the shrine and stood up in the midst. Plain paper! plain pinewood! plain pilgrim dresses! Truly the neutral tints of self-effacement, as near nothing as symbols can well show; the very apotheosis of simplicity.

All except the *nakaza* himself now took post for the possession, seating themselves in the prescribed places, all facing the *gohei*; the *mæza* in front, the "four heavens" (*shiten*) at the cardinal points on the side and the clerk and the deputy-*mæza* flanking the *mæza* to the left and right.

A short incantation led off. Then the *mæza* removed the wand and gave it to the *tōhō*, the "eastern heaven," who held it ready in his hand. The *nakaza* came forward and solemnly seated himself where the *gohei* had been, facing from the altar. First he folded his legs under him,



then he drew his robe elaborately round them, tucking and tying them in in the approved manner. The result had the look of certain legless toys that begin as a man and end as a pedestal. After the *nakaza* had thus arranged himself the others followed suit.

The *nakaza* began by finger-twists and prayer, privately as it were; then he folded his hands before him and closed his eyes, the others incanting the while. The *maeza* took the wand from the *tōhō* and put it between the *nakaza*'s hands. The man at once fell slowly forward on it, resting one end on the mat and the other against his forehead near the hollow at the base of the nose.

The rest started in upon the "*Rokkon shōjō no harai*," the purification prayer whose initial words the pilgrims chant timed to their tramp as they mount Ontaké. Stirring it is, this intoned prayer, and it takes little fancy to seem mounting one's self on the rythm of its fine processional to where the god awaits his pilgrims at the top. Over and over again the chant swept on. Suddenly the wand began to quiver. At which the band increased in energy. Moment by moment the wand gathered motion in fits and lulls as when a storm gathers out of a clear sky. Slowly, as it shook, it rose to his forehead. Then with a sudden paroxism it beat the air frenziedly above his head, to come down with a jerk to a rigid half-arm holding before his brow, a suppressed quiver alone thrilling it through. The god had come.

The *maeza* leant forward, bent low before the outstretched *gohei* and reverently asked the god's name. The eyes of the possessed had already opened to the glassy stare symptomatic of trances, the eyeballs so rolled up the pupils were nearly out of sight. In an unnatural, yet not exactly artificial, voice he said "*Matsuwo*," at which his interlocutor bowed low again and then preferred his petitions. The god answered and then spake on of his own accord. The clerk took down all he said.

Shortly the man settled forward heavily into a lethargic swoon. From this he was roused by farther incantation to a new access of fury. Raising the wand above his head he lashed out with it like a madman and hopping excitedly round on his folded legs repeated the act at each of the four compass points. Then he came back to his previous statuesque pose and in reply to the *maeza* spake again.

Once more he relapsed into his lethargy and once more he was roused and answered.

When he had fallen into his comitose condition for the third time, the *maeza*, after a sort of benediction, made the sign of a sanscrit character on his back and slapped him energetically on top of it. One of the *shiten* stood by ready with a cup of water and, the moment he had come to enough, put it to his lips and helped him to drink. Under this treatment he gradually revived but it took some kneading before the wand could be loosed from his cataleptic grip.

Three gods, it appeared, had come in turn, which accounted for the rise and fall in the character of the possession: Matsuwo Sama or Ōyamadzuminonikoto; Fukan Gyōja; and Hakkai San.

## VII.

The trances so far instanced have all been of the Ryobu-Shintō kind, as the croziers and the rosaries would hint. The next shall be one introducing two new features: Buddhism and femininity. For the mouthpiece of the god was in this case the mouth of a maiden and the man who parleyed with her a Buddhist priest of the Nichiren sect. It is a sect of purely Japanese origin, having been founded by Nichiren, who had learnt much of the Shintō priests six hundred years ago; a sect with no prototype or affiliations elsewhere.

Like most of the other trances it was a parlor possession in my own house. There were three persons in the company. For beside the priest and the maiden—who was about eighteen, there came a female friend of maturer years, not indeed to chaperone the fair one so soon to be more than metaphorically divine, but merely for religious assistant at the divine audience. The three all belonged to a certain pilgrim club of which the priest was president.

They turned up with an extra *jiurikisha* carrying a veritable Saratoga trunk of indispensables. To be fair to the sex, as it shows itself in Japan, it should instantly be said that in this case the baggage was not chargeable to it but to the god's delight in pageantry as interpreted by the Nichiren sect. The trunk proved to contain several candles, some *sakaki*, a *gohei*, two large lumps of rice-paste known as *kagami-mochi* or mirror dough, various other objects of bigotry and virtue and eight volumes of scripture, besides vestments, rosary and other ecclesiastical trappings for the priest. He, and not the women, was the object to be arrayed.

After all the various articles had been deployed, duly set up or donned, the priest faced the altar and began to pray. He prayed a long time, in an elaborate and beautiful chant in keeping with his clothes. One of the interesting features of the ritual was the comparative absence of finger-charms; another the way in which he virtually read through the whole eight volumes of scripture. For want of a more consecrated expression it may be known as the way of the waterfall, and is as conveniently useful as it is unimpeachably artistic. It was made possible by the form in which the books were bound. Like old Japanese books generally the contents were inscribed on one indefinite roll folded for the sake of portability into pages, their ends only being fastened to the covers. They thus lent themselves to being played upon as an harmonicum, the method the priest adopted. Holding the covers farther apart at the top than at the bottom he let the

pages slowly cascade from his left hand into his right, accompanying himself thus on the instrument to the chanting of a portion of its contents by heart. The fair ones chorused him at a respectful distance in the rear.

Then he told several remembered prayers, not on his rosary, but, as it were, to it. For the Japanese Buddhist, not being arithmetical, scorns to use his rosary in mere tally to his prayer, promoting it to the higher post of musical instrument. He soothingly strokes it and it purrs with the gratified responsiveness of a cat.

All this lasted a religious while, but the sights and the sounds beguiled the senses to the forgetting of time. When, in all conscience, the priest had said mass enough, he turned at right angles to his former position and beckoned to the maiden to approach and seat herself opposite to and facing him, sideways therefore to the altar. She then folded her hands and closed her eyes.

First he sprinkled her all over with a shower-bath of sparks from a flint and steel; after which he repeated in a soporific way several monotonic chants and watched the effect. When he judged her numb enough he put the *gohei*-wand into her hands and continued intoning, his own hands still making his amber rosary purr.

Gradually the maiden raised the *gohei* to her forehead. When it got there it began to shiver, struck her convulsively once or twice and then settled into a trembling rigidity. Her eyes stayed closed.

The priest then asked what questions I would like to put to the god. Some doctrinal points occurred to me, the priest acting as go-between. The god and the priest were pleased with the answers; I was not, their conventionality veiled in vagueness failing to commend itself. Then the god indulged in some gratuitous prophecy, not subsequently fulfilled. He kindly foretold that a week after my return to America I should lose a large amount of

money I had out on loan. I thanked him for this information, thinking it unnecessary to inform him in return that I had no money out on loan at the moment. Perhaps it was not odd that I never lost it. But the fault was mine. Had I been a Japanese the chances that are I should have had money loaned; and of course should have lost it. This is as near as I ever came with the gods to successful prophecy. And yet to divine would seem to be of the very essence of divinity.

Altogether the most interesting feature of the case, psychologically, was the great ease of possession, due, as I am convinced, to the sex of the subject. In possessions by the Nichiren sect the god prefers to make use of feminine lips. The only exception is the occasional employment of children as divine subjects. For in this sect men are never possessed.

At another possession by the same sect, four priests and a woman took part. There were no finger-twistings and the service generally was short and simple. A hanging scroll of *Kishibojin* was suspended in the recess of honor; below it a small altar overlaid with rich brocade stood flanked by two *gohei*-wands. The principal priest put on white silk robes and the woman a white cotton surplice. At first she sat off disinterestedly to one side.

At the close of the preliminary service the chief officiator beckoned to her to take her seat; which she did passing through the row of priests with the customary respectful symbolic scooping of the hand and sat down in the midst with her back to the altar. She closed her eyes; the priest made the sign of a Sanscrit character on each of her palms and then with prayer put the two *gohei*, one into each of her hands. Twitching ensued almost instantly and was kept up a long time while the officiator (*shugenja*) prayed on. At the close of it the priest asked the god's name and then interviewed him. Then, when permission had first been asked by the priest, the god condescended to interviews with the rest of us. Replies

would have been made in any case, the priest said, but it would have been rude to the god not to have first obtained his consent. The subject was quite insensible to pins stuck into her neck but objected at first to having her pulse felt, pulling her arm annoyedly away, till she had been assured that it was all right by the priest. Her pulse proved a trifle faster than in her normal state (110 as against 100) but decidedly weaker.

After speaking she lapsed into a comitose condition but could be roused by being addressed. When the priest had finished with her he took the wands from her hands, not without difficulty, they were so cataleptically clenched, and somewhat irreverently rolled her over on her side like a doll into a corner where he left her to wake, while he and the others concluded the service. By the time they had finished she came to of herself.

The facing of the possessed—from the altar or simply sideways to it—is a matter dependent on the particular priest and upon the character of the god expected to descend. If the god be of more importance he sits *ex cathedra* as it were; if not simply *ex parte*. This relative disrespect shown by the Buddhists to the possessing gods will be discussed latter.

### VIII.

The pure Shintō possessions are, in virtue of being a part of pure Shintō itself, necessarily revivals. They are said indeed to have been always practised in secret during Shintō's long eclipse. But practically they ceased to be and were resumed only when Shintō itself once more came into fashion. It was really in Ryobu-Shintō that the trances, and all else in Shintō to which the people clung, survived.

The pure Shintō trances, therefore, like the Nō dances, show a certain not unattractive archaicism, an archaicism that glamors them with all the more seeming-sanctity.

The personal or auxiliary rites are comparatively few and relatively simple. Their comparative absence and relative simplicity are astutely explained by ascribing greater purity to the officiators; which renders assistance unnecessary. The pure Shintoists are so pure, it is said, that they need them not; a fresh instance of the fact that to the pure all things are pure. The parallelism of this to the Shintō explanation of its lack of a moral code: that only immoral people need moral laws, is evident. It is, however, a very true principle that the more faith the less formulae.

On the other hand the impersonal part of the service is more elaborate that it may be more imposing. But it is distinctly less captivating. In all really grand receptions given the god the dinner previously offered him is the most important part of the entertainment. This is exceedingly elaborate and takes no end of time to serve. The priests stand in a row and with many ceremonious bows and turnings pass the holy platters from the refectory—as one may say—to the shrine where they are all eventually deposited. The dishes consist of pretty much everything edible and, in the raw condition in which much of it is served, of everything inedible as well. They are then further made palatable to divinity by much flow of soul in prayer by the priests. The finger-charms, decidedly the weirdest of the Ryobu rites, are reduced to such very low terms as hardly to appear. The purification prayers of pure Shintō origin, such as the *Nakatomi no harai*, are chanted but with less impressive swing; the Ryobu ones, like the *Rokkon Shōjō no harai*, are not recited at all. So far as records and traditions go the old is reinstated. Even the aboriginal instruments of miscalled music, actual heirlooms, some of them, it is said, are played upon by the modern high-priest as they were by the mythologic worthies, that the unchangeable gods may be similarly pleased. In fact the whole action is as near as possible what it might have seemed to one transported a couple of millenniums into the past.

The trance state itself is likewise different. It is more natural and more free. The possessed no longer is restrained to the greater conventionality of the Ryobu forms. He sits, stands, speaks more spontaneously and generally behaves himself with more of the self-prompting a god might be expected to possess. This, however, is in the believer's eyes of less consequence than the knowledge of the scriptures he shows himself to possess. To be able to elucidate the meagre accounts in the Shintō bibles proves his superior divinity. That the subject has been well trained in this old folklore does not to the pious constitute a *propter hoc* in the matter.

Perhaps the most curious phase in this form of possession revival is what may be called the divinity kindergarten, which one of the high-priests holds as often as three times a week. Pious young people of the neighborhood come in on certain evenings for the express purpose of being god-possessed. The pupils are of both sexes and of all degrees of proficiency, from beginners to adepts. To see their exercises is one of the most curious experiences imaginable. The well-versed take an amazingly short space of time to become entranced. The pupils begin by sitting in a row at the farther end of the room, praying quietly, waiting thus each his turn to be called up. When the priest is ready for one of them he nods to him and the boy, or girl, advances to assume a receptive attitude just before the altar, closing his eyes. The high-priest prays over him, sitting off on one side. Then he rises and puts the *gohei*-wand into the boy's hands and resuming his seat plays upon the sacred flute, exactly as you shall read of its being done in the Kojiki. This is not a surprising coincidence since the action is copied from it. In proficientes the effect is almost instantaneous. The pupil goes into convulsions, raises the *gohei* to arms' length above his head, brandishes it maniacally and still doing so rises to his feet and proceeds thus to hop about the



room. In this state he then goes through various gymnastic exercises. On one wall of the room stands a ladder up which he climbs to the cornice, clinging to which he makes the circuit of the apartment, descending again by the ladder only to shin along a horizontal bar. Somersaults over a low table follow next; after which he resumes his hopping turns about the room, interspersed with somersaults over the floor whenever the possessing spirit prompts them. The curriculum varies with the idiosyncrasy of the pupil, though all indulge in dervish-like dancing and somersaults. But indeed dancing dervishes are orderly members of society by comparison. There are at times as many as three of the gods careering thus at once, and though they often bump they are not aware of one another, though in a way conscious of the limits of the room. A creditable circus on the whole.

When the high-priest deems that a pupil has done enough he stops him, brings him by command to a sitting posture before the altar, takes the wand from him and wakes him up.

The pulse is accelerated and, so far as I could discover from feeling it immediately afterwards, weakened. The actions, dubious as they read, were evidently done in an unconscious condition, as they were said to be.

It takes some practice to attain to this proficiency—several sittings indeed before a pupil becomes possessed at all. The kinder-garten has no special object except a general religious training. It is, as it were, sunday-school three week-days a week.

## IX.

And now for a general account of the trance somewhat more psychologically considered; and first for the means of getting into it, the cause, that is, in contradistinction to the occasion.

Possession is effected in fact in the easiest possible manner. From the time the *nakaza* takes the *gohei*-wand into his hands, at which time it will be remembered he closes his eyes, he simply thinks of nothing at all. He makes his mind as pure, that is as much of a blank, as he can.

The thinking of nothing has been made the easier by the previous debilitating process of the austerities. It has been still farther facilitated by the routine ritual gone through with immediately prior to the act, or rather the non-act, itself. Indeed the prayers having become with the man a purely mechanical process, they are almost equivalent already to not thinking at all since they give the mind just enough to do to prevent any real thought from starting in it. The prayers are not only tantamount to non-thought but the thing is so styled by many *nakaza*. They do not think of anything, they say, after they have once sat down to the ceremony. So true is this that a *nakaza* will at times begin to go off during the preliminary rites and has to be brought back by a rousing slap from the *maeza*.

The coming on of the state of possession is described by them as like lapsing to sleep. They simply become unconscious. The experience of one of them from his first attempt to his first success is worth giving in detail.

After having duly completed his period of austerities he was set one evening in the *nakaza's* seat. About him sat the regular company incanting. He closed his eyes and the *gohei*-wand was put into his hands. From that moment he tried to make his mind as blank as possible. The result the first evening was simple nausea. Nor is it surprising that the first dose of divinity should disagree with a man.

His second trial the following evening led to a similar result, but the unpleasant effect was somewhat less pronounced than on the first attempt. So it continued to be

on the third evening and the fourth, up to the fifteenth; the feeling of sickness diminishing at each succeeding sitting. At last on the fifteenth day his perseverance was rewarded. He remembers hearing the others repeating the *harai* fainter and yet more faint, like singers departing into the distance, and then he was ware of being shaken by the rest. They were bringing him to. Possession had been like the unconscious dropping off to sleep; coming to himself again like waking in the morning, only that he felt dull and tired. He was told by the company that he had nodded, shaken the wand violently and then become perfectly rigid.

He likened the feeling of lapsing into the trance to the sensation after long bathing in the honorable hot-water, a bath of the temperature of 110 degrees fahrenheit. The analogies indulged in by different subjects when questioned as to this feeling of becoming possessed were variously apposite. One of them said it felt like going up in a balloon. This daringly inflated simile turned out a flight of fancy, as on further investigation it appeared that the man had never been up in a balloon. But inasmuch as most people have not either, his definition was in point of fact more definite than if he had made ever so many such ascents. Another man said it was like being drowned and then brought to again. Psychologically this was a close hit, though I have no reason to think that he had had, any more than the other, personal experience of his comparison. A third merely described all sounds as getting a long way off. Still another, in speaking of the general state said that all ordinary noises grew indistinguishable and yet that in winter he could hear the water freeze.

Of the trance itself most, if not all, of the possessed remember afterwards nothing. One man indeed said that it was like dreaming only more vague, the dream of a dream as it were, which is certainly very vague indeed. Even here I think he mistook the feelings fringing the

trance state for the trance state itself. For certainly the average good *nakaza* is quite emphatic on the point and this particular man was not a specially able specimen.

They all agree in the sense of oppression which is their last bit of consciousness before going off and their first on coming to. It is for this the *maeza* slaps the *nakaza* repeatedly on the back at and after the moment of waking. The throat is so throttled that unless this were done the water could not be swallowed.

Possession begins, they say, at the *gohei*. The hands that hold it are the first parts of the man to be affected. In the incipient cases these are all that are visibly possessed. As the control deepens the cataleptic condition creeps, like paralysis, on till it involves all of the body not in action.

Possession ends, as it begins. The subject's arms and hands are the last part of him to lose their induced catalepsy. After the man is well waked and to all intents and purposes himself again, it is almost impossible to take the wand away from him. Only after being rubbed and kneaded will the fingers let go their hold.

In the trance itself anaesthesia is often marked. I have several times stuck pins into the entranced at favorably sensitive spots without the man's being conscious of the pricks. In some cases where I had otherwise no reason to suspect fraud the pin was felt. So that I doubt whether want of feeling is necessarily spontaneously produced in the state.

The pulse is quickened. But a much more marked symptom about it is its decided weakening. I have explored the wrist of an entranced for quite an impossible time and failed to find anything but an occasional flutter. The Japanese themselves are quite aware of this fading away of the pulse and also of the way in which its rise and fall keeps pace inversely with the degree of activity in the trance state. So conversant with this correspondence are they that I have known during such search for the pulse

a whole company spontaneously to redouble its energy in incantation in order to keep the possession at its height and so obliterate the pulse, which they had affirmed to be non-existent in the trance's full activity. It certainly proved practically to have ceased so exceeding faint was it grown. When the subject lapses into the comitose condition the pulse returns.

During activity the subject's body is in a constant state of quiver. This is one of the most significant of the physical symptoms, as I shall hope to show in the sequel.

Sometimes the eyes are opened in the trance (*gambiraki*); sometimes they are closed throughout. Which they shall be depends upon the training of the particular *nakaza*, which again is matter of tradition. By those who practise the former method the latter is denounced as more easily covering shams, which is undoubtedly true. The others doubtless consider themselves above the imputation.

Shams there are; which is hardly surprising when we consider the great vogue the act of possession has. But an unexpected pin in a tender part of the possessed's body usually pricks the bubble. It is much easier to detect the false than the true; the sham rarely masquerades successfully while the true may sometimes seem a very perfect sham.

The conventional character of the possessed's action in the average trance, which is very marked, is of course no sign of shamming. The unconscious assimilations of precedent have now become stereotyped into trance action which is just as unconsciously genuine as any other habit. To mistake such for fraud is to be one's own dupe. One might make a more serious mistake and, like the Salpêtrière in hypnotism, take for universal symptoms of the Japanese trance what are really adventitious effects perpetuated. The invariable raising of the *gohei*-wand to the forehead in so seemingly formalized a manner in the ordinary Ryobu trance, the brandishing it about, and the bringing it down again, before or above the face

as the case may be, in no less arbitrary a way, are all but so many self-suggestions originally, crystalized now into unchanging custom. The god might act very differently without casting consequent doubt upon his divinity and in the revived Shintō trances, as we have seen, he does do so.

It is an interesting fact that the base of the forehead between the eyes should have been discovered to be a favorable point to press upon in order the quicker to enter the trance, discovered empirically by the Japanese before the thing was scientifically known to Europe. Not all subjects make use of it. Some simply rest one end of the wand on the ground or floor and lean upon it; while others do not do so much as this, only holding it in the air before them. But by many to rest one end on the ground and press the forehead against the other is thought to be helpful to a speedy result, which it doubtless is.

The development of the voice takes time. Dumb possession precedes the ability to talk in the trance. Considerable practice in being possessed is necessary before the god is able to speak. When he does do so the tone is peculiar. It is not the man's natural voice but a stilted, cothurnus sort of voice, one which a god might be supposed to use in addressing mere mortals. It would be theatrical were it not sincere. It is the man's unconscious conception of how a god should speak, and commends itself artistically to the imagination.

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ERRATA.—1. For *gyo*, simply or in compounds, read *gyō*.  
2. In everyday life the Buddhists also use their rosaries to tell their prayers.

## AINU ECONOMIC PLANTS.

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By REV. JOHN BATCHELOR AND DR. KINGO MIYABE.

[*Read April 12, 1893.*]

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### INTRODUCTION.

There is no field in the domain of economic botany more interesting and full of promise than that among a barbarous race which has wholly subsisted for untold ages on the products of the forest and the sea, and the spoils of the chase. Such a field one naturally finds among the Ainu of Hokkaidō.

That a subject of such interest should have been almost wholly neglected by recent foreign writers on this race is easily to be explained by the nature of the subject, for it demands in an author a happy combination of the thorough knowledge of the flora of the region with that of the language and customs of the people. If, therefore any explanation be sought for the joint authorship of this paper the reason will be found in this fact.

Works on this subject by Japanese writers and botanists are not wanting. As early as the later part of the eighteenth century, the Tokugawa Government sent a young doctor and artist named Tani Buntan (谷文旦) to Yezo to investigate the natural products of the island, having special regard to medicine. The results of his

researches are supposed to be embodied in a manuscript called the Tōi-Bussanshi (東夷物産志) which is a treatise on the natural products of Eastern Yezo.

About the year 1810, a work called the Yezo Sō-moku-shiryō (蝦夷草木志料) or "Materials for a Flora of Yezo," by So Shōkei (曾尚啓) appeared; and about the year 1850 a manuscript in two volumes was written on the natural products of Yezo, and called the Yezo Bussanshi (蝦夷物産誌.) This work is said to be the result of the joint authorship of several naturalists then residing in Hakodate and among whom is to be counted Kurimoto Jyoun (栗本鋤雲) who is now a member of the Gakushi-in of Tokyō. In the diaries of travel in different parts of Yezo by Matsumura Takeshiro (松浦竹四郎) are to be found many interesting facts with regard to Ainu economic plants.

All the statements found in these volumes were collected and published in the year 1883 by one of the authors of the present work in the 34th volume of the Hokkaidō-shi (北海道志). The most recent contribution to the subject is also by the same author and is to be found in the first and second numbers of a journal called the Keirin (蕙林) published in Sapporo in the months of May and July 1892. It is on the medicinal plants and also on the trees and shrubs used by the Ainu.

These works were consulted by us in the preparation of the present paper, but those statements which have not been confirmed by the Ainu we have personally questioned about them have been all excluded. They may be published by us on some future occasion, as some of them have uncommon interest. The present paper therefore contains little but what we have seen used ourselves, or are perfectly certain are known and used by the Ainu.

In the preparation of this paper the Ainu of Oshamambe, Repunge, Aputa, Usu, Horobets, Chitose, Osatnai, Mukawa, Saru, Tokachi, Kushiro, and the Kurile Islands



among others have been questioned, and though one plant may not be known in one district, it is sometimes found to be both known and used in another.

Our best thanks are due to K. Jimbo, Esq., who has most assiduously laboured in the matter of collecting and verifying Ainu names and in procuring specimens for identification.

This little work must not be considered exhaustive; we feel that the subject has but just been commenced and intend steadily to pursue our studies. We hope on some future occasion to present a paper to this Society on the fibrous plants and on the trees and shrubs used by the Ainu.

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## PART I.

### AINU MEDICINAL PLANTS.

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#### 1.—ARIKKO.

*Thalictrum aquilegifolium*, L.

KARAMATSU-SŌ. カラマツサウ. The Feather Columbine.

The roots of this plant eaten either raw or roasted are said to cure pains in the stomach. They are very bitter to the taste. Sometimes, however, on occasions of stomach-ache a decoction is made by steeping the roots in boiling water, and a good strong dose taken. This is said to work wonders. Should a person wound his hand when at work, or thrust some sharp object into his foot when walking through the forest, he will take the roots of this plant, chew them to a paste, and apply to the wounded part to prevent suppuration.

Some of the Ainu take the leaves of this herb, roll them between the hands to bruise and make them soft, and then plaster over any part of the body where there should be an internal pain or contusion.

## 2. HORAP or ORAP.

*Paeonia obovata*, Maxim.

YAMA-SHAKUYAKU (ヤマシヤクヤク).

The root of this plant is dug up, dried and preserved for medicinal purposes. It has a bitter taste. In cases of stomach-ache some Ainu take a piece of the root, and swallow it with water. It is said to have an immediate effect. The root chewed to a paste is sometimes applied to aching joints of the body. For ordinary slight ailments, a decoction of this root is commonly recommended.

In Mukawa and elsewhere, the seeds of this paeony are recommended as a remedy for sore eyes; when used for this purpose, the seeds are chewed up and put in a piece of clean white cloth; the juice is then squeezed out into the eyes. In Usu, when a person suffers from a pain in his ears, the smoke from a mixture of tobacco and powdered seeds is blown into them.

## 3.—OPKE-NI OR OMAUKUSH-NI.

*Magnolia Kobus*, DC.

KOBUSHI (コブシ).

The bark is the part employed as medicine. A decoction is taken in time of colds. As in the case of *Pukusa* (see No. 89 and 120) and *Kikin-ni* (see No. 18 and 58.), the bark of this *Magnolia* is believed to have the mysterious power of driving away the demons of disease. In times of a pestilence, a piece of the bark is commonly put into the drinking water as a preventive. Branches are placed over doors and windows as a charm. A thin decoction is often made and drunk in place of tea.

## 4.—REPNIHAT.

*Schizandra chinensis*, Bail.

CHŌSEN-GOMISHI (テウセンゴミシ).

The vines are the part generally used as medicine, although the fruit is also sometimes so used. By some Ainu it is believed to be a specific for colds. When

taken for colds, a piece of the vine is rolled up and put into a cup containing boiling water. The thin decoction thus made is taken. It is also recommended by some Ainu as a remedy for sea-sickness.

### 5. OTOMPUI-KINA.

*Chelidonium majus*, L.

KUSA-NO-WO. (クサノヲ). The Common Celandine.

The stem and leaves, after having been softened by dipping into hot water, are applied externally to any place where there are internal pains caused by a fall or contusion. Some Ainu believe the yellow juice of this plant destroys warts. This may possibly have been learned from the Japanese. It is also reputed to be an antidote against snake-poisoning. Some Ainu apply this plant to the stomach to relieve internal pains. A most peculiar practice is, when a child suffers from constipation, to place a small piece of bruised stem in the anus. This is said to have an immediate effect.

### 6.—RITEN-KINA.

*Stellaria media*, L.

HAKOBE (ハコベ). The Chickweed.

This common weed is widely used for external application to bruises or to any part of the body where the bones ache. The stems and leaves are steeped in hot water before being applied.

### 7.—KUTCHI-PUNGARA.

*Actinidia arguta*, Planch.

KOKUWA (コクハ).

In the spring of the year, when the vine of this climber is cut, sap flows out freely and in large quantities. The sap is used as a medicine and is believed to be a good expectorant. (See No. 51).

## 8.—SHIKEREBE-NI.

*Phellodendron amurense*, Rupr.

KIWADA OR SHIKORO. (キハダ.シコロ).

The inner bark of this tree is much esteemed by the Ainu as a medicine. It is yellow in colour and extremely bitter to the taste. It is applied externally over any portion of the body where there should be internal pain, particularly such as may have been caused by falling from a horse, or by any similar accident. It is also applied to burns, scalds and sore eyes. The bark is bruised and made damp either by chewing or with water before it is used. Persons who travel in the interior of this island and who are called upon to wade streams the greater part of the day, suffer greatly from a skin disease called *mizu-mushi* by the Japanese. This disease attacks the spaces between the toes, quickly making them quite raw. An application or two of the inner bark of the *shikerebe-ni* is said to remove the malady.

The berries of this tree are much prized by some Ainu as a medicine; they are said to be a good expectorant. In some places the berries are used in cases where the muscles have been strained and caused to swell. On such occasions a few of the berries are chewed into a pasty mass and put upon the affected part. The fruit is also used as an article of food.

## 9.—SHIU-NI or YUK-RAIGE-NI.

*Picrasma ailanthoides*, Planch.

NIGAKI (ニガキ).

The bark of this tree has a very bitter taste which is believed by the Ainu to be poisonous. A strong decoction is often used to kill head-lice. Eruptions on the scalps of children are also sometimes washed with it. It is said that should deer eat the bark of this tree they die very soon after. Hence the name, which means "Deer-killing-tree."

10.—TOCHI-NI.

*Æsculus turbinata*, Bl.

TOCHI-NO-KI (トチノキ). The Horse-chestnut.

The nuts of this plant are often used as a medicine. They are taken and dried for future use. When required they are soaked and well scraped. The scrapings are then steeped in water and the decoction used to wash wounds with. The Ainu often use it for washing the eyes of horses when they run water or discharge matter.

11.—OIKARA.

*Pueraria Thunbergiana*, Benth.

KUZU. (クズ)

The root of this plant is dug up and used as a remedy for aches and bruises. The root is thoroughly roasted at a fire and the affected part of the body well rubbed with it. The root-stock of the *Pueraria* is rich in very fine starch and is much esteemed by the Japanese; but the Ainu know nothing of it as an article of food.

12.—CHIKUBE-NI.

*Cladrastis amurensis*, Benth. var. *Buergeri*, Max.

INU-ENJU (イヌエンジュ).

The bark of this tree is believed to have a poisonous property. It is externally applied on the body where there is internal pain.

13.—KIKIN-NI.

*Prunus Padus*, L.

YEZO-UWAMIZU-ZAKURA. (エゾウハミヅザクラ). The Bird-Cherry.

The bark of this tree is sometimes steeped in hot water and used as a remedy for stomach-ache. The decoction is drunk.

The bark is also sometimes used as a beverage in place of tea. At Saru and elsewhere this plant is believed to have the power of driving away the demons of disease and is therefore used as a charm.

#### 14. TOKAOMAP.

*Cicuta virosa*, L.

DOKUZERI (ドクゼリ). The Cowbane or Water Hemlock.

The root-stock of this plant is deadly poisonous. Some Ainu apply externally the charred root-stock when there is a pain in the bone.

#### 15—UPEU.

*Seseli Libanotis*, Koch var. *sibirica*, DC.

IBUKI-BÖFŪ NO ISSHU (イブキバウフウノ一種).

A kind of umbelliferous herb having a strong medicinal smell and flavour. It is much used as a medicine and is said to be good for every complaint. It grows in dry places—especially on sandy beaches. The root is the part used. In times of epidemic disease the *upeu* is much sought after by the Ainu for it is thought to be a great preventive of illness and is said to act as a kind of charm. I have often seen them chewing it, and found it hanging up in huts to keep off sickness. During a time when small-pox was raging I saw a dog, with some tied to his collar, driven round a house! This plant may be taken at any time in place of tea or water and is, indeed, often preferred. A decoction is usually made by steeping the herb in hot water; and is so taken in cases of severe cold. Some of the old Ainu mix small pieces of this root with their tobacco to improve its flavour.

#### 16.—YAKARA-KINA or MO-SHIU-KINA.

*Angelica refracta*, Fr. Schm.

ŌBA-SENKYU (オホバセンキウ).

A kind of umbelliferous plant found growing in wet and damp places. It is used for medicinal purposes, and

is said to be especially good in cases of pain in the stomach. The root-stock only is used. It is generally taken in decoction though sometimes it is put into soup and eaten with the food.

From the fact that upon procuring samples of the dried root-stocks of this Angelica at the villages of Saru and Chitose in the month of March, it seems that they must form one of their common medicines. They are cut up very small with a knife, and put in hot water. The decoction thus made is drunk, herb and all. At Saru it is taken in time of chest-troubles, and at Chitose, in cases of stomach-ache and chest-troubles.

#### 17.—CHIMA-KINA.

*Aralia cordata*, Thunb.

UDO. (ウヅ) The Spikenard.

Some Ainu use the root-stock of this plant for wounds inflicted by bears or other animals. A decoction is often made and the wounds washed with it, after which fresh slices are applied. The spikenard is also used for food by some Ainu.

#### 18.—OINAMAT.

*Adenocaulon adhaerescens*, Maxim.

NOBUKI. (ノヅキ).

When a person is poisoned by sumach (*Rhus*), the leaves of this plant softened by warming at a fire are generally applied.

#### 19.—NOYA.

*Artemisia vulgaris*, L.

YOMOGI. (ヨモギ) The Mugwort.

When one has taken cold, the stem and leaves of the mugwort are boiled in a pan, and a patient is made to inhale the steam, with a cloth covered over his head and the pan, until he or she freely perspires. Sometimes in similar cases, a decoction of the stems and leaves are drunk. A

moxa is sometimes made by pounding the leaves. This plant is also often to be found hung up in houses as a charm against evil, but particularly against disease.

## 20.—KAMUI-NOYA.

*Artemisia sacrorum*, Ledeb., var. *latiloba*, Ledeb.

IWAYOMOGI. (イハヨモギ).

This kind of mugwort grows chiefly on rocky cliffs, and sometimes on the sandy banks of rivers. It is sub-shrubby in habit, and has a strong medicinal odour. It is largely used as a medicine by the Ainu of Kushiro, Kitami and Teshio. The name *Kamui-noya* is also applied by some Ainu to other species of *Artemisia*. (*A. Stelleriana*, Bess. and *A. Japonica*, Thunb.)

## 21.—MAKAYO.

The flower-shoot of *Petasites japonicus*, Miq.

FUKI-NO-TÔ. (フキノタフ).

This flower-shoot is sometimes used by the Ainu for food, but is often taken in strong decoction for heavy colds. It is very bitter to the taste. (See *Korokoni*, No. 80).

## 22.—SETA-KOROKONI.

*Arctium Lappa*, L.

Gobô. (ゴボウ) The Burdock.

The young leaves of this plant are softened by rolling them between the palms. They are then applied to skin eruptions. It may also be remarked that the roots of this plant are sometimes boiled and eaten as food.

## 23.—EPOTAN-NI.

*Ligustrum medium*, Fr. et Sav.

ÔBA-IBOTA-NO-KI. (オホバイガタノキ).

Some Ainu believe that chop-sticks made from the wood of this shrub, if always used, will prevent the teeth from becoming carious.



## 24.—IKEMA or PENUP.

*Cynanchum caudatum*, Maxim.

IKEMA. (イケマ).

A kind of Asclepiadaceous plant used both for food and medicine. It is said to be good for any complaint, but is a special remedy for small-pox. To wounds of all kinds a thick decoction when applied is said to prevent the formation of pus. Half cooked roots are said to have an intoxicating effect, and to cause loss of all control over the limbs and to do away with the sensation of the skin. The root is dried and stored up for future use, however, it is sometimes taken fresh either roasted or boiled and is said to have a very sweet flavor. In time of epidemic sickness the root is chewed in its raw state and the juice blown from the mouth sometimes upon and over the afflicted person, sometimes all over the inside of the hut and through the door and windows, and sometimes, again, round the house and even whole villages. When so used the *ikema* or *penup* is supposed to act as a kind of charm to drive away the demon of sickness. Those who use this plant so are generally intoxicated by it.

It is also said to be very efficacious as an antidote to poison. As an article of food this plant is used very sparingly and well cooked.

## 25.—CHIUKOMAU.

*Physalis Alkekengi*, L.

HÖZUKI (ホヅキ). The Winter Cherry.

When there is a pain in the hips, the fruit is smashed and applied as a poultice.

## 26.—SETA-ENDO.

*Elsholtzia cristata*, Willd.

NAGINATA-KŌJU (ナギナタカウジュ).

The decoction of this highly aromatic plant which is commonly found around the huts of the Ainu is prescribed to persons suffering from the after effects of intoxication. It is also used in the place of tea.

## 27.—TOIORUSH-MUN or KAMUI-KEU-KINA.

*Mentha arvensis*, L. var *vulgaris*, Benth.

HAKKA (ハクカ). The Peppermint.

The bruised leaves of this plant are applied to any place where a person is in pain.

## 28.—SHUMNU-HASH.

*Lindera hypoglauca*, Maxim.

KUROMOJI or TORIKOSHIBA. (クロモジ.トリコシバ)

Among some Ainu this plant is looked upon as a good remedy for stomach-ache, and has a very nice smell and flavour. The wood is broken up fine and boiled. When cool a dose is taken. Sometimes, however, the decoction is poured over rice or millet and taken.

## 29.—KETU-HASH.

*Daphne chinensis*, Lam., var. *breviflora*.

KOSHŌNOKI or KARASU-SHIKIMI. (コセウノキ.カラスシキミ)

The whole plant is reputed to have a poisonous property, but especially its berries and roots. Some Ainu burn the roots to charcoal and pound them to powder. This powder is applied to bruises or places where there is any internal pain; but it is never applied to cut-wounds.

## 30.—NI-HARU.

*Viscum album*, L.

YADORIGI or HOYA. (ヤドリギ.ホヤ). The Mistletoe.

The Ainu like many nations of northern origin hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine good in almost every disease. It is taken either in food or separately as a decoction. The leaves are used in preference to the berries, the latter being of too sticky a nature for general purposes. Some Ainu have been known to use the mistletoe leaves merely for tea without any reference to their supposed medicinal properties, while others sometimes mix it with their stews.

By many Ainu the mistletoe is supposed to have the power of making the gardens bear plentifully. When used for this purpose the leaves are cut up into fine pieces, and after having been prayed over, are sown with the millet and other seeds; a little also being eaten with the food. Barren women have also been known to eat the mistletoe in order to be made to bear children. That mistletoe which grows upon the willows is supposed to have the greatest efficacy because the willow is looked upon by the Ainu as being a sacred tree. (See No. 100.)

## 31.—KAPAI.

*Laportea bulbifera*, Wedd.

MUKAGO-IRAKUSA. (ムカゴイラクサ).

The stems and leaves of this plant are, after having been well roasted and mashed, used as fomentation for ulcers. (See also No. 105).

## 32.—KAMUI-TAT.

*Betula Ermani*, Cham.

TAKE-KAMBA. (タケカンバ).

The bark of this birch can be peeled off in very thin layers. Some of these papery layers are sometimes pasted over wounds in place of plasters. They are said to possess good healing properties and to prevent inflammation.

## 32.—b. NITAT-KENE.

*Alnus japonica*, Miq.

HAN-NO-KI or YACHIBA-HAN-NO-KI. (ハンノキ. ヤチバハンノキ)

The Alder.

A decoction made by steeping the bark of this tree in hot water is said to be good for pains in the stomach. Ainu women take a dose of this medicine immediately after child-birth. The special name of this decoction is *Ichuptasarep*. It is said to be exceedingly bitter to the taste.

33.—URA-SUSU or URAI-SUSU.

*Salix multinervis*, Fr. et Sav.

KORI-YANAGI. (コリヤナギ).

The fresh bark of this shrubby willow is widely used by the Ainu for application to cut or bruised surfaces. The bark is cut into fine shreds with a knife, and plunged for a short time into hot water to make it soft. It is then applied to the wound and is retained there by bandage. The bark is renewed from time to time.

34.—YAI-NI or NUP-KURUN-NI.

*Populus tremula*, L.

HAKOYANAGI. (ハコヤナギ).

The fresh bark is cut up into fine shreds and applied to cut-wounds to prevent the formation of pus.

35.—SHUNGU-UNKOTUK.

The resin of *Picea ajanensis*, Fisch.

YEZO-MATSU NO YANI. (エゾマツノヤニ).

Some Ainu apply the resin of this spruce to cut wounds to hasten their healing.

36.—NIMAK-KOTUK.

*Cremastra Wallichiana*, Lindl.

SAIHAI-RAN OR HAKKURI. (サイハイラン . ハツクリ).

The root of this orchid is used as a remedy for tooth-ache. It is merely chewed and then expectorated. It is of a very sticky nature and clings to the teeth very tenaciously, hence its name. *Nimak*, "teeth," and *kotuk*, "to adhere to." Sometimes a stiff paste or ointment is made of this herb and spread over swellings and boils as a remedy. However, in whatever way it may be used it is not supposed to be a very certain cure, and is not applied when other more favourite remedies are at hand. A strong glue is made from the roots of the plant by pounding them well.

## 37.—SHUWONTE.

*Smilax herbacea*, L.

SHIODE. (シホデ). The Carrion Flower.

The application of the softened leaves is said to heal troubles of the eyes. They are also applied to skin eruptions and wounds.

## 38.—ETORURATKIP.

*Polygonatum giganteum*, Dietr., var. *falcatum*,  
Maxim.

NARUKO-YURI. (ナルコユリ). The Solomon's Seal.

A piece of the root-stock of this plant is sometimes put into the mouth of a child who suffers from laceration of the tongue and lips and is allowed to remain there until the pain is relieved.

## 39.—PUKUSA or HURARUI-KINA.

*Allium victorialis*, L.

GYOJYA-NINNIKU or KITOBIRU. (ギョウジャニンニク. キトビル).

This herb is said to be specially useful as a remedy for colds. It is also sometimes to be found hung up in door-ways and entrances and by windows as a charm against epidemic disease.

## 40.—SURUGU-KUSURI.

*Acorus Calamus*, L.

SHŌBU. (シヤウブ). The Sweet Flag.

The root-stock of this plant is extensively used by the Ainu as a medicine. It is dried and kept with *ikema* and *moshiu-kina*. Pains in the stomach caused by drinking bad water, or by eating improper food, are said to be relieved by taking a decoction of this root-stock. It is also said to be efficacious in cases of cold and headache.

## 41.—SHUPUYANUP.

*Lycoperdon sps.*

KITSUNE-NO-CHABUKURO. (キツネノチャブクロ).

The Puff-ball.

Spores of this fungus are sometimes outwardly applied by the Ainus to cure pains in the body. It is also applied as a remedy for scalds and burns.

## 42.—SHIU-KARUSH or KUI-KARUSH.

*Polyporus officinalis*, Fr.

EBURIKO or TOBOSHI (エブリコ. トボシ).

A kind of fungus growing upon larch tree and having a very bitter taste. This polyporus is used by some Ainu as a medicine. It is chewed and rubbed into painful places. But generally its decoction is swallowed as a remedy for stomach-ache. It comes chiefly from the Kurile Islands and was greatly prized by the old Japanese doctors.

## 43.—UMMA-SHIKARUSH.

A kind of toadstool which grows only from horse-droppings. It is sometimes applied to wounds, scalds and burns as a remedy.

## 44.—NIKAMBI.

The white leathery layers of the fungus mycelium found between the bark and wood of dead oak, elm or ash trees. It is applied to wounds on the body to stop hæmorrhage.

## PART II.

## AINU EDIBLE PLANTS.

## 45.—PUKUSA-KINA.

*Anemone flaccida*, Fr. Schm.

GAJŌ-SŌ or FUKUBERA. (ガジヤウサウ. フクベラ).

By some Ainu it is also called *ohau-kina*, "stew plant." The leaves and stems of this plant form an article of diet among the Ainu. The people gather this herb in large quantities when it is in blossom in the spring and dry it for winter use, though some of it is used green. It is usually eaten boiled with fish, or occasionally put into soup.

## 46.—PUI.

*Caltha palustris*, L.

RYUKINKWA. (リウキンクワ). The Marsh Marigold.

The slender roots of this plant are gathered and eaten, but not the stems and leaves. Some are eaten fresh and others dried. In either case they are generally boiled with fish, rice or millet, and sometimes with oil of sardines. Some Ainu pound them to cakes before eating.

## 47.—KAPATO.

*Nuphar japonicum*, DC.

KŌHONE. (カハホ子).

The thick horizontal root-stocks of this plant, which are rich in starch, are used as an article of diet. They are first cut into small pieces and scalded, and then either

cooked with millet or rice, or put into a soup. The root-stocks are also dried and kept for winter use, and are said to be very delicious.

## 48.—TOMA.

*Corydalis ambigua*, Cham. et Schlecht.

ENGOSAKU. (エンゴサク).

The bulbs of this plant are extensively eaten by the Ainu, especially by those in the Ishikari valley, Saghalien, and Southern Kuriles. The bulb has a slightly bitter taste, which is removed by repeated boilings in water. In Etorup, the Ainu boil with a certain kind of earth to remove its bitterness. They are eaten either simply boiled or mixed with rice. In Saghalien, it is said that they are cooked generally with the fat of seals. The bulbs are often boiled and then dried for future use.

## 49.—SHIBE-KINA.

*Cardamine hirsuta*, L.

TANETSUKE-BANA. (タネツケバナ).

The leaves and stems of this herb are first parboiled and then eaten as salad.

## 50.—RISESSERI or NISESSERI.

*Cardamine yezoensis*, Maxim.

AINU-WASABI. (アイヌワサビ).

In the early spring, the young leaves and new root-stocks are gathered for food, the older portions of the roots being thrown away. To increase pungency, the Ainu in some places have learned to put the leaves, together with the root-stocks, into bottles and keep them well stopped a day or so before using. The *Risesseri* is generally boiled before eaten.



## 51.—KUTCHI.

The fruit of *Actinidia arguta*, Planch.

KOKUWA. (コクハ).

This fruit is eaten by Ainu. It is also greatly relished by bears. It has a delicious taste when well ripened though it is slightly astringent and mildly purgative. The fruit ripens after the first frost.

## 52.—MATATAMBU.

*Actinidia polygama*, Planch.

MATATABI. (マタタビ).

The fruit of this plant is eaten by the Ainu. The unripe berries are extremely acrid and are sparingly cooked in stews to give them flavour. Only the well ripened fruit is eaten raw.

## 53.—KANCHIKAMA-NI.

*Zanthoxylum piperitum*, DC.

ZANSHO. (サンセウ).

The leaves and fruit of this shrub are often cooked in soup and used as a condiment. The wood, being of a very tough nature, is often made into hooks and used for getting seaweed (*Laminaria*, Japanese and Ainu, *kombu*) out of the sea.

## 54.—SHIKEREBE.

The fruit of *Phellodendron amurense*, Rupr.

SHIKONOEI. (シコノヘイ).

These berries form an article of diet among the Ainu who collect them in large quantities during the autumn months and dry for future use. Generally they are very sweet and aromatic in flavor, though sometimes some of the trees are said to yield berries having an astringent taste. The Ainu generally boil this fruit with beans, but a very favourite way is to cook it with the fat of deer or bears. These berries are also used as a medicine (see *Shikerebe-ni*) No. 8.

55.—HAT.

The berry of *Vitis Coignetia*, *Pulliat*.

YAMA-BUDO. (ヤマブドウ). The Wild Grape.

The wild grapes are relished by the Ainu, and also by bears. The Ainu eat them either raw or by keeping them in a cup with salt for a day or two.

56.—MENASARU or NOIPORO-KINA.

*Lathyrus maritimus*, *Bigel*.

HAMA-ENDO. (ハマエンドウ) The Beach Pea.

The beans are sometimes collected and eaten.

57.—AHA.

*Amphicarpaea Edgeworthii*, *Benth. var. japonica*,  
*Oliver*.

GIN-MAME or YABU-MAME. (ギンマメ . ヤブマメ).

The underground seeds are gathered in large quantities. They are eaten boiled either alone or with rice, after being cleared from the coatings, roots and young shoots. They are said to be very sweet, tasting something like chestnuts. A peculiarity about this leguminous plant is that it has two kinds of flowers, one being an ordinary purplish bean-like flower, and another a subterranean inconspicuous flower, which never opens but is so constructed as to bear seeds without any help of external agencies, (cleistogamous flower). The subterranean seeds are about 7-10 times larger than those which are produced in the above ground pods. The former are known as *Aha*, and the latter as *Aha-cha*. The Ahacha are also collected, and eaten commonly boiled with rice. (*Aha* is applied to both the nut and vine, though more properly the vine should be called *Ahara*).

58.—KIKIN-NI.

*Prunus Padus*, *L.*

EZO-UWAMIZU-ZAKURA. (エゾウハミツザクラ)

The fruit is eaten. (See No. 13.)

59.—YUK-EMAURI, KAMUI-HUREP,

or *Hure-aiush-ni*.

*Rubus crataegifolius*, Bunge.

TACHI-ICHIGO. (タチイチゴ).

The berries are eaten.

60.—EMAURI.

*Rubus parvifolius*, L.

NAWASHIROICHIGO. (ナハシロイチゴ).

The berries of this plant are eaten by the Ainu.

61.—KAMUI-EMAURI, or YUK-EMAURI.

*Rubus phenicolasius*, Maxim.

EBIGARA-ICHIGO. (エビガライチゴ).

The berries are eaten. They have a fine flavour.

62.—KUNNE-EMAURI.

*Rubus occidentalis*, L. var. *japcnicus*, Miyabe.

KURO-CHIGO. (クロイチゴ.)

The berries of this plant are eaten by the Ainu. They are especially abundant on the eastern coast of Hokkaidō.

63.—EMAURI or YAYAN-HUREP.

*Rubus Idaeus*, L. var. *strigosus*, Maxim.

YEZO-ICHIGO. (エゾイチゴ).

This raspberry is widely distributed throughout the island of Ezo. The berries are much esteemed by the Ainu.

64.—HUREP.

*Fragaria elatior*, Ehrh.

SHIROBANA-NO-HEBICHIGO. (シロバナノヘビイチゴ).

The Wild Strawberry.

These are very much relished by the Ainu. They are especially abundant in the vicinity of Nemuro, and in the high mountains of Hokkaidō.

## 65.—MAU.

The fruit of *Rosa rugosa*, Thunb.

HAMA-NASU. (ハマナス).

This plant is very plentiful on sandy dunes and near the sea shores of Yezo. The hips are used as an article of food by the Ainu. They are eaten raw and are much liked by the children.

## 66. SETAN-NI or SETAI-NI.

*Pyrus Toringo*, Sieb.

ZUMI or SANNASHI. (ズミ . サンナシ).

The small fruits, which are called *setara* in Ainu, are used as an article of food. Children especially are fond of them.

## 67.—IWA-KIKIN-NI.

*Pyrus Aucuparia*, Gertn. var. *japonica*, Maxim.

NANAKAMADO. (ナナカマド.) The Mountain Ash.

The red fruit is sometimes eaten.

## 68.—ABE-NI.

*Crataegus chlorosarca*, Maxim.

YEZO-SANZASHI. (エゾサンザシ.) The Blackpome Hawthorn.

The pome of this hawthorn is black and fleshy. It is eaten by the Ainu.

## 69.—PEKAMBE.

*Trapa incisa*, Sieb. et Zucc.

HIME-BISHI. (ヒメビシ).

The fruit of this plant forms an article of diet especially among the Ainu who live near the marshes, and is eaten either boiled or roasted. It is often boiled with rice. To split the hard shell of the fruit the Ainu of the Ishikari valley do it very skilfully with their knives, while those of the Tokachi valley usually use their teeth. When it is eaten raw it is said to cause diarrhoea.

## 70.—MICHIPA.

*Cryptotaenia japonica*, Hausskn.

MITSUBA. (ミツバ.) The Japanese Honewort.

The stems of this plant, together with the leaves are used as food. Sometimes they are boiled green, and at others they are first salted. This use was probably learned from the Japanese. The *michipa* is the Ainu corruption of the Japanese word *mitsuba*.

## 71.—ICHARI-KINA or ICHARABO.

*Anthriscus sylvestris*, Hoffm.

SHAKU OR KOJYAKU. (シヤク.コジヤク)

The Wild Chervil.

The fresh shoots of this plant are often used in stews as a vegetable. Many of the Ainu collect the young shoots, steep them in boiling water, and then salt for future use.

## 72.—SHIU-KINA.

*Angelica ursina*, Maxim.

YEZO-NYU. (エゾニウ).

This plant has a very bitter taste and is not generally eaten. However, in some districts, as for instance in Tokachi, the Ainu eat the white interior stalk after having peeled off the bark and expelled as much of the whitish colored juice as possible. This is the largest umbelliferous plant known in Hokkaidō.

## 73.—CHIFUE or CHISHUYE.

*Angelica edulis*, Miyabe.

AMA-NYU. (アマニウ).

The stalk of this plant is eaten by the Ainu either raw or dried. It has a sweet taste. It is much hunted after by the children. For preserving, the stalk is cut into short pieces, skinned, split, and then dried. Some Ainu prefer to eat it boiled soft.

## 74.—PITTOCK.

*Heracleum lanatum*, Michx.

HANA-UDO. (ハナウド). The Cow Parsnip.

This herb is used by the Ainu for food. It is sometimes eaten raw, though generally it is first roasted and peeled. It is never boiled or put into stew. Bears are said to be remarkably fond of this plant. In the Saru district the stalks are eaten both fresh and dried.

Young shoots which are largely collected and eaten in spring are called *haru*, while *pittock* is applied only to a fully grown plant.

## 75.—CHIMA-KINA.

*Aralia cordata*, Thunb.

UDO. (ウド). The Spikenard.

The stems of this plant, even to fully-grown ones, are, after having been first peeled, boiled and eaten as a vegetable. It is also sometimes used as a medicine. (See No. 17.)

## 76.—ENENGE-NI, ENINGE-NI, or SHUAT-NI.

*Aralia spinosa*, L.

TARANOKI OR TARAMBO. (タラノキ, タランボ).

The Angelica Tree.

The Ainu boil the young leaves of this plant in their stews and eat them as vegetables.

## 77.—ENUMI-TANNE.

*Lonicera caerulea*, L.

YONOMI. (ヨノミ).

This shrub is very abundant in the marshes which lie between Chitose and Tomakomai. The juicy, dark-coloured berries are collected and much esteemed by the Ainu. They are eaten raw.

## 78.—NOYA.

*Artemisia vulgaris*, L.

YOMOGI. (ヨモギ). The Mugwort.

The stem and leaves of this plant are used as food when very young in the early spring. They are taken and first boiled; next they are well pounded in a wooden mortar; and lastly made into cakes and dried for future consumption. A good deal, however, is eaten at once, having been first pounded with millet, or, if obtainable, rice. When the dried cakes are to be eaten they are re-boiled and pounded with millet or rice. This is said to be a very nutritious food and of itself quite sufficient to sustain life and keep the body in a healthy condition. It is said to be of a very sweet flavor, and the people are remarkably fond of it. The ancient Ainu used to live upon this herb a great deal, we are told, and it has been the means of keeping them alive throughout more than one famine. Later on in the year, when the plant becomes older, the leaves only are taken (without the stem) and dried for future use. (See No. 19).

## 79.—KAMUI-NOYA.

*Artemisia Stelleriana*, Bess.

SHIRO-YOMOGI. (シロヨモギ).

This kind of mugwort grows on sandy beaches, and is readily distinguished by its white colour. It is eaten in the same way as the common mugwort, but does not appear to be used as a medicine. The name *kamui-noya* is also applied by some Ainu to other species of *Artemisia*, *A. sacrorum*, Ledeb. (See No. 20,) and *A. japonica*, Thunb.

## 80.—KOROKONI.

*Petasites japonicus*, Mig.

FUKI. (フキ).

This plant is very much used by the Ainu for food. They eat the stalks of the leaves only as a general thing, though some of the Japanese as well as the Ainu use the flower called

*makayo* as well. The stalks are very often roasted over a fire and then skinned and eaten, though as a rule they are boiled in the stews. They are also largely made into pickle by salting the boiled stalks together with the leaves of the *Ikokuttara* (see No. 96) which are used to give them a reddish tinge. Sometimes, however, salt is entirely dispensed with.

### 81.—PET-KUTU or WAKKA-KUTTARA.

*Senecio sagittatus*, Schultz Bip.

YOBUSUMASO or BŌNA. (ヨブスマサウ・ボウナ).

Also called by some Ainu, especially by children, *Chirekte-kuttara* and *Rek-kuttara*, on account of the noise that can be produced by blowing down the stem. *Chirekte*, meaning "to play," as a musical instrument. By other Ainu it is sometimes called *Wakka-kuttara*, because water may be drawn up the stem into the mouth. The young shoots are eaten roasted by some people, the skin being first peeled off. The Ainu in some districts, however, (Saru for example) do not use this plant as an article of diet.

### 82.—OROMUN or PEKAMBE-KUTTARA.

*Senecio palmatus*, Pall.

HANGONSŌ or NANATSUBA. (ハンゴンサウ・ナナツバ).

The young leaves of this plant are used as food by some Ainu. They are first well boiled, the water is then thrown away and the leaves washed in fresh water; after this they are recooked with other food.

At Mukawa, they are said to be eaten in the same way as *makayo* (See *Makayo*, No. 21.)

At the time when this plant is in full blossom *pekambe* is said to be ripe enough to be gathered. (See *Pekambe*, No. 69).



88.—SETA-KOROKONI.

*Arctium Lappa*, L.

Gobō. (ゴボウ). The Burdock.

The roots are eaten as a vegetable. It is said that those growing about Usu and Abuta are most noted. (See also No. 22.)

84.—ANTSAMI or AIUSH-KUTTARA.

*Cnicus* sps.

AZAMI. (アザミノ類). The Thistle.

The Ainu use thistles for food. When very young they cut them off close to the ground and use the whole head, but when they grow older the leaves only are taken. Young thistle heads boiled with fish is looked upon as a great treat, and the Ainu are very fond of it.

85.—HONOINOEP or EPITCHE-NONNO.

*Taraxacum officinale*, Wigg., var. *corniculatum*. Koch et Ziz.

TAMPOFO (タンポポ). The Dandelion.

The leaves of this plant are eaten boiled with stew.

86.—MUKEKASHI.

*Adenophora verticillata*, Fisch.

TSURIGANE-NINJIN or NUNOBA. (ツリガネニンジンノバ).

The root is the part which is chiefly eaten. It is eaten at once or dried and kept for future use. It is generally eaten boiled sometimes mixed with beans. The leaves are often put into soups.

87.—MUK.

*Codonopsis ussuriensis*, Hemsl.

BA-ASOBU. (バアソブ).

The roots of this plant are roundish and warty and are a little larger than a common walnut. These bulbs are used as an article of food and are eaten either raw or roasted according to the taste of the person partaking thereof.

88.—TOP-MUK.

*Codonopsis lanceolata*, Benth. et Hook.

TSURU-NINJIN. (ツルニンジン).

The roots of this plant are eaten in the same way as those of the *muk* (see No. 87). The bulbs are larger and longer but are not warty.

89.—AI-KARIP.

*Vaccinium hirtum*, L.

SUNOKI. (スノキ).

The fruit of this plant is eaten by the Ainu.

90.—HASHIPO or TOMAMASHI.

*Ledum palustre*, L. var. *dilatatum*, Wahl.

ISO-TSUTSUJI. (トツツヅ).

A decoction made by steeping the leaves of this plant in hot water is used in the place of tea by the Ainu of some districts.

91.—IKEMA or PENUP.

*Cynanchum caudatum*, Maxim.

IKEMA. (イクマ).

As an article of food this plant is used very sparingly and only after having been well cooked (See No. 24).

92.—CHITUIREP or CHITUREP.

*Metaplexis Stauntoni*, Roem. et Sch.

GAGA-IMO. (ガガイモ).

The roots of this climber are used as food. The pod, which is called *chituirep-chippa*, is sometimes eaten in its raw state by the Ainu. I once saw a lad in convulsions and foaming at the mouth through eating too many raw pods of this plant. The roots are usually cooked before partaken of.

## 93.—KITESH or KEN.

*Convolvulus japonicus*, Th.

HIRUGAWO. (ヒルガホ).

The long slender roots of this plant are dug up in the spring and used as an article of food by the Ainu. They are eaten either roasted or boiled, alone or with other food, such as rice or millet. They are said to be very sweet to the taste and are much liked.

## 94.—SETA-ENDO.

*Elsholtzia cristata*, Willd.

NAGINATA-KŌJU. (ナギナタカウシウ).

A decoction is sometimes made by steeping the leaves of this plant in hot water and used as tea. (See No. 26.)

## 95.—ERUM-KINA or EREMU-KINA.

*Plantago asiatica*, L.

ŌBAKO. (オホバコ). The Plantain.

The root is the part used as an article of diet. It is eaten boiled. Some Ainu eat the seeds, after having been well pounded, with rice or millet.

## 96.—IKOKUTTARA.

*Polygonum sachalinense*, Fr. Schm.

Ō-ITADORI. (オホイタドリ).

The young shoots of this plant, which have a reddish tinge, are eaten by some Ainu. They have a slight acidity. The leaves are commonly employed when pickling the stalks of *Petasites* (*korokoni*). When so used first a layer of the leaves is spread over the bottom of a barrel, then a layer of *korokoni*, and so on till the barrel is full. The leaves impart a reddish colour and slight acidity to the pickle. (See No. 21.)

97.—KUTTARAAMAM.

*Polygonum Weyrichii*, Fr. Schm.

URAJIRO-TADE. (ウラジロタデ).

The fruit of this plant is collected by some Ainu and pounded in a mortar. The mashed fruit is eaten either boiled with millet or cooked in fish oil.

98.—SHUNAPA.

*Rumex aquaticus*, L., var. *japonicus*, Max.

MADAIWŌ. (マダイワウ).

The fruit of this plant is eaten by some Ainu. It is first pounded in a mortar and then partaken of either boiled alone or with rice. The leaves also are sometimes eaten in soups.

99.—SUSUMAU-NI.

*Eleagnus umbellata*, Thunb.

AKIGUMI. (アキグミ).

The fruit of this plant is first scalded and then eaten.

100.—NI-HARU.

*Viscum album*, L.

YADORIGI (ヤドリギ). The Mistletoe.

Some of the Chitose Ainu extract starch from the mistletoe branches by pounding them in a wooden mortar, and washing in water. However, mistletoe is not generally partaken of as food excepting in times of great scarcity. (See No. 30).

101.—YUK-TOPA-KINA.

*Pachysandra terminalis*, S. et Z.

FUKKISŌ or KICHIJISŌ. (フッキサウ. キチジサウ).

The berries of this plant are eaten in their raw state.

102.—RIYAHAM-USHI.

*Daphniphyllum humile*, Maxim.

YEZO-YUZURIHA. (エゾユヅリハ).

The evergreen leaves of this shrub are sometimes dried and smoked in place of tobacco.

103.—KOSA.

*Humulus Lupulus*, L.

KARAHANA-SŌ. (カラハナサウ). The Wild Hop.

The root of this plant is eaten either boiled or roasted. It is of a sweet taste. It is generally dug in the spring, though occasionally in the autumn.

104.—TESHMA-NI or TUREP-NI.

*Morus alba*, L.

KUWA. (クワ). The Mulberry Tree.

The fruit, which is called *topembe*, is eaten raw.

105.—KAPAI.

*Laportea bulbifera*, Wedd.

MUKAGO-IRAKUSA. (ムカゴイラクサ).

The young shoots are gathered in the spring, boiled in two waters and then eaten. (See No. 81).

106.—MINCHI or MOSHI-KINA.

*Pilea pumila*, A. Gray.

MIZU. (ミズ). The Rich-weed.

The succulent semi-transparent stems are eaten boiled.

107.—NESHKO.

*Juglans Sieboldiana*, Maxim.

ONIGURUMI. (オニグルミ). The Walnut tree.

The Walnuts are called *Ninum*.

These form an article of diet among the Ainu, but as they are very thick shelled, making it difficult to extract the kernel, they are not thought much of.

## 108.—NISEU.

DONGURI. (ドンダリ). Acorns.

These are eaten by the Ainu, especially those of *Quercus dentata*. The favourite way of eating them is to first boil them, though occasionally they take them roasted. They are not used in stews. Acorns are usually boiled in two or three waters before using; and are sometimes cooked till they become a paste, before partaken of.

The acorns of *Tun-ni* or *Kom-ni* (*Q. dentata*) are especially eaten, because they are less stringent and sweeter than the acorns of the *Quercus crispula* and *Quercus grosseserrata*, (*Chikapo-pero-ni* and *Shipero-ni*).

## 109.—YAM.

The fruit of *Castanea vulgaris*, Lam.

KURI. (クリ). The Chestnut.

Chestnuts form an important article of food among the Ainu. They prepare them in various ways. The favourite way is to well boil them, then take off the skins and pound them into a paste; they are then reboiled with millet or rice and eaten.

It is considered to be a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon or trout and boil them together. Another way is to mash them with the fat of animals. Sometimes they are eaten roasted, but in that case never by way of taking a meal. This latter way of cooking chestnuts is looked upon as more of an agreeable pastime than anything else.

## 110.—ENCHIKIMAIMAI or ICHIKIMAIMAI.

*Empetrum nigrum*, L.

GANKÖRAN or KOKENOMI. (ガンカウラン.コケノミ.)

The Crowberry.

The black berries are eaten raw. They have a slightly bitter taste.

## 111.—KANAT-NI or ANAT-NI.

*Cephalotaxus drupacea*, Z. et S.

INUGAYA or HYÖBU. (イヌガヤ. ヒヨウブ).

The fleshy part of the drupe-like fruit is sometimes eaten by the Ainu. It has a sweet though slightly resinous taste.

## 112.—RARAMA-NI.

*Taxus cuspidata*, S. et Z.

ICHI-I or ONKO. (イチヰ. オンコ). The Yew.

The fruit of the yew is sometimes eaten by children but is not used as a general article of diet.

## 113.—TODONUP or HENEKKERE.

*Pinus pumila*, Regel.

HAI-MASSU. (ハヒマツ).

The seeds of this dwarf-pine are much esteemed by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands as an article of diet.

## 114.—NIMAK-KOTUK.

*Oremastra Wallichiana*, Lindl.

SAIHAI-RAN. (サイハイラン).

The root of this orchid is sometimes eaten boiled. (For other uses see No. 36.)

## 115.—UNINTEP or UNINTEK-KI.

*Gastrodia elata*, Bl.

ONI-NO-YAGARA. (オニノヤガラ).

This plant is used by some Ainu for food. It is eaten boiled, but is not mixed with other articles of diet because its flavour is said not to be very inviting. The underground bulbs are the part used. They are collected in spring and are boiled with as little water as possible.

## 116.—ETORURATKIP.

*Polygonatum giganteum*, Dietr. var. *falcatum*, Maxim.

NARUKO-YURI. (ナルコユリ).

The root stock of this plant is eaten either boiled or roasted. (See also No. 38.)

117.—UKURU-KINA.

*Funkia ovata*, Spreng.

GIBŌ-SHI. (ギバウシ).

The white parts of the leaf stalks only of this plant are used for food. They are boiled with other things and are said to be very sweet and tender.

118.—SHIKUTURU or SHUKUTUT.

*Allium schoenoprasum*, L.

YEZO-NEGI. (エゾネギ). The Common Chive.

The bulbs and leaves of this plant are used as ordinary food. Many chop them up fine and boil them in their stews to give flavour to other articles of diet.

119.—MEMBIRU.

*Allium nipponicum*, Fr. et Sav.

NOBIRU. (ノビル).

The bulb of this plant is the part used. It is generally eaten fresh as a salad but is not dried and stored up. Sometimes, however, it is used as an ordinary food, especially to give flavour to other delicacies.

120.—PUKUSA.

*Allium victorialis*, L.

GYOJYA-NINNIKU or KITOBIRU. (ギヤウジヤニシニク.キトビル).

The bulb and the lower part of the leaves of this plant are used as food by the Ainu. They are taken in the early summer, chopped up fine, and dried for future use. This plant is often used as ordinary food to give flavour to other edible articles, and sometimes it is boiled in fat. It is also used as a medicine. (See No. 39.)

121.—TUREP.

*Lilium Glehni*, Fr. Schm.

ŌBA-UBAYURI or UMBAIRO. (オホウバユリ.ウシバイロ).

The Ainu extensively use the bulbs of this plant for food. They prepare them as follows. After having well washed the bulbs they pound them, in their raw state, in



a mortar. The flour or finer portion, which is called *irup*, is then separated from the coarser, and put in the sun to dry. When eaten this is generally made into a gruel and cooked with millet or rice. The coarser part, which is called *shit* and *shirari*, is boiled at once and then again pounded and put into a tub to decompose. When thoroughly rotten it is again boiled and pounded. After this it is made into large cakes, called *onturep* or *turep-akam*, with a hole in the centre, and hung up to dry. When needed for food the Ainu throw them into the millet pot and boil them. The flour is, it may be remarked, sometimes applied to burns.

## 122.—MASARA-ORUMBE.

*Lilium dahuricum*, Gawl.

YEZO-SUKASHI-YURI. (エゾスカシユリ).

The bulbs of this lily, which grows chiefly on the sandy beaches and river banks, are used as an article of diet. They are cooked in the same way as *niyokai*. (See No. 123.)

## 123.—NIYOKAI.

*Lilium avenaceum*, Fisch.

KURUMA-YURI. (クルマユリ).

The bulbs of this plant are the parts used. They are taken in the autumn, brought home, picked to pieces, and, having been thrown into the rice or millet pot are boiled. Sometimes they are eaten alone, but they are more generally mixed with other food. •

## 124.—ANRAKORO.

*Fritillaria kamtschatsensis*, Gawl.

KURO-YURI. (クロユリ). The Black Lily.

The Ainu eat the bulb of this plant. It is dug up in the summer, brought home, washed, and boiled. When well cooked the bulbs are mashed and mixed with the fat of animals, or with rice.

The bulbs are often dried and stored away for future use, though many of them are eaten fresh. When any of that which has been stored is to be eaten it is generally reboiled in stew.

## 125.—ESHKERIMRIM.

*Erythronium dens-canis*, L.

KATAKURI. (カタクリ). The Dog's Tooth Violet.

The long solid scaled bulbs of this plant are used for food. They are taken and well washed and then thoroughly pounded in a mortar. The fine flowery portion is kept for use, and the coarser thrown away. When required, a little of the flour is put into a cup and hot water poured on it. By stirring, a kind of gruel is made, and this is drunk by itself. The *eshkerimrim* is never cooked with other food. The leaves are also collected by some Ainu and cooked as a vegetable. It is also said by some to be good for stomach-ache.

## 126.—CHIKAP-TOMA.

*Gagea lutea*, Ræm. et Sch.

KIBANA-NO-AMANA. (キバオノアマナ).

The Yellow Star of Bethlehem.

The Ainu children eat the bulbs of this plant after roasting in a fire. The leaves are also put in soups.

## 127.—KINA-EMAURI.

*Trillium kamtschaticum*, Pall.

SHIROBANA-NO-ENREISŌ. (シロバナノエンレイサウ).

The berry of this plant is used for food. It has a delicious taste with a slight trace of acidity.

## 128.—RAURAU.

*Arisema japonicum*, Bl.

TENNANSHŌ (テンナンセウ.) Jack in the Pulpit.

The bulbs of this plant are eaten. They are dug up in the autumn, brought home and washed, and then put in the ashes upon the hearth to bake. They are never boiled. As

a certain part of the bulb is said to be very poisonous they have to be partaken of with great care; the good parts only are used as food and the poisonous carefully taken out and thrown away.

The basal part of the stalk and its continuation into the bulb is said to contain the poisonous property. This part is of a greenish colour and is very carefully picked out with a knife before using. The ashes appear to counteract the poisonous acid which is still left in the bulb, and to render it harmless.

#### 129.—SHIKEREBE-KINA.

*Symplocarpus foetidus*, Salisb.

ZAZENSŌ. (ザゼンサウ). The Skunk Cabbage.

The leaves are the parts used as food. They are first boiled and dried, and then cooked in soups.

#### 130.—TOP.

*Bambusa senanensis*, Fr. et Sav.

YAMA-DAKE. (ヤマダケ).

The grain of this bamboo is sometimes collected by the Ainu and eaten in the same way as rice or millet. It is called *Kamui-amam*. The young shoots, which are much eaten by the Japanese, are not used by the Ainu.

#### 131.—KAMUI-SOROMA.

*Osmunda regalis*, L.

ZEMMAI. (ゼンマイ). The Flowering Fern.

The young fronds are taken, and used as food, prepared in the same manner as *tuwa* (No. 133).

#### 132.—SOROMA.

*Onoclea germanica*, Willd.

KUSA-SOTETSU or KOGOMI. (クサソテツ・コゴミ).

The sterile fronds of this fern are collected when young and soft, and are much eaten by both Ainu and Japanese. The Ainu generally put them into soups.

The fertile fronds of this fern, which appear later in season, are called by the Ainu *Airap-kina*. They are made into powder and are eaten by mixing with water and making into paste.

## 133.—TUWA.

*Pteris aquilina*, L.

WARABI. (ワラビ). The Brake.

The young fronds of this plant are taken and well boiled in fresh water and then dried for future use. When required for food they are mixed with other food and reboiled.

The Saru Ainu know how to extract the starch or *irup* from the rhizomes of the brake; they probably learned this from the Japanese.

## 134.—EHURUPESH-KINA.

*Scolopendrium vulgare*, Sm.

KOTANI-WATARI. (コタニワタリ). The Hart's Tongue.

The frond of this fern is sometimes smoked by some Ainu either alone or mixed with tobacco.

135.—PERO-NI-KARUSH, KOM-NI-KARUSH, or  
TUN-NI-KARUSH.

*Lepiota* sp.

SHI-I-TAKE. (シヒタケ).

This kind of fungus is used for food; it grows both upon the green and decaying stems. It is extensively eaten by the Japanese, and even cultivated in certain districts.

## 136.—CHIKISA-NI-KARUSH.

*Pleurotus ulmarius*, Bull.

TAMOGI-TAKE. (タモギタケ).

The Ainu use this as food and are very fond of it. It is only eaten after having been well boiled.

## 137.—KENE-NI-KARUSH.

*Pleurotus* sp.

MURI-TAKE. (ムキタケ).

This kind of fungus is used for food. It is eaten mixed with stews.

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## ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

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BY PERCIVAL LOWELL, ESQ.

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[*Read May 17th, 1893.*]

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### PILGRIMAGES AND THE PILGRIM CLUBS.

#### I.

To one of a poetic turn. of thought the very name Shintō, or the "Way of the Gods" pictures of itself one long pilgrimage from earth to heaven. But such poesy is, after all, profane, the "way" here being as unvividly viewed by its followers as are the thousand and one other ways of the world by those who pursue them. Nevertheless pilgrimages are more than foot-notes to its profession. If in no sense a church militant, Shintō is certainly a church perambulant; and if it have produced no allegorical Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," it can at least show an actual one so impersonally spelt that he who runs must read. Shintō in short is as much given to stringing its devotions along the road as it is to laying them before the household shrine; marks of which open-air adoration meet the lay pilgrim at every step.

Anyone who has travelled at all in Japan must have been struck by a singular, yet nearly universal, feature of the country inn: a motley collection of colored, charactered cloths dangling from short fishing poles stuck into the eaves, in fluttering fringe to the entire inn-front. Diverse as

they are in design, the majority agree in displaying at the top the conventional triform figure that passes for a peak.

From their general shape, size and stamping, the stranger will take these cloths, at first blush, for the towels of the guests hung out in all innocence to dry; though their inordinate number slightly tax the credit of even Japanese tubability. Sojourn at the inn, however, will dispel this somewhat bathetic illusion by showing them to be permanences there, a regular part of the real estate of the establishment. Forced thus to change his conception of their character, the unenlightened will next imagine them to be some novel inn allurements, a kind of preposterous bait of landlord ingenuity dangled thus to catch the public eye. Secularly speaking, both inferences are correct. For they were towels and are bait; but not of landlord invention. They are the *hō-no-tenugui* or gift-towels of the pilgrim clubs, displayed thus as sign to comrades who shall come after.

Originally they were ordinary, every-day towels, bestowed in all simplicity upon the inn as tokens of favor by such clubs as chanced to put up at it and be pleased; just as ladies in tourney times cast their hand-kerchiefs to their knightly choice. Not having handkerchiefs the Japanese presented their towels instead, rightly regarded rather the more romantic article of the two.

But towels they are no longer. Time has ennobled them out of domestic service. They are now club badges manufactured by the thousand and carried about by the gross as a sort of self-advertisement and guidebook combined. For though they are presented to the inn, they are presented for the immediate benefit of those presenting them. Each bears conspicuous the club name and address and is left with the landlord to be flown before his inn, a banneret to beacon in the breeze to the brethren that this is where the club puts up. It is the inn's asterisk in the pilgrim's Baedeker.

The pilgrims are very free with their certificates of club satisfaction. On any fairly good inn you shall count from fifty to an hundred of them and with hostelries of exceptional entertainment the house-eaves fail to accommodate them all, and stout poles planted in the street in front fly the overplus. Landlords spare no pains to display these ghosts of former lodgers, for the pilgrim patronage is individually not unlavish and collectively is enormously large.

The sight of such banner-bedizened inns and the still more striking spectacle of itinerants distinguished by—and well-nigh extinguished under—huge toadstool hats, will probably be the foreigner's introduction to Japanese pilgrims. Once recognized, he will find them a regular part of the scenery.

Probably at no time and among no people have pilgrimages been so popular as in this same nineteenth century in Japan, exceptional excitements like the crusades excepted. Even the yearly journey of the Mahometan world to Mecca, though it draw from greater distances and be invested with more pomp, does not imply so complete a habit. Almost every Japanese is potentially a pilgrim, though every summer do not see him actually on the march. Either he has been a happy palmer in the past or he looks forward to becoming one in the near future; want of funds alone standing in the way of his being such at the moment. Popular poverty indeed, would seem the only reason for the nation's failure to take the road in a body between the middle of July and the first of September. As it is, the country's thoroughfares at that season are strung with folk wending their gay way to some shrine or other—with wallet in girdle and staff in hand, the living resurrection of biblical times.

Now the first point of interest about these pilgrimages is that the impulse to them is emphatically of the people. Like so many Japanese traits, art for instance, the pilgrim

spirit is not an endowment of the upper classes but the birthright of everybody. Indeed it is chiefly the simple who go on pilgrimages; the gentle not being sufficiently given to the necessary pedestrianism.

The next feature about them is their national character. Their patronage is purely insular. Their goals draw no devotees from outremer. Buddhist though some of them be, no contingent ever crosses from China or Korea to visit them. On the other hand to the more noted of them pilgrims flock from all over Japan. Men from one end of the empire meet there men from the other and from all points in between, the Hokkaidō, Yamato and Kyūshū fraternizing cheek by jowl; a fact which in the eyes of the pilgrims adds greatly to the pleasure of the pilgrimage. Socially it is journeying the whole distance by only going half-way. Regard for the smaller shrines is naturally bounded by a narrower horizon. But considering that till within ten years the means of conveyance were one's own feet the attraction of even these lesser load-stars is felt surprisingly far.

That the pilgrim spirit is thus in a twofold sense wholly national,—first in the sense of only and then in the sense of all—implies one important fundamental fact: that Japanese pilgrimages are not of Buddhist but of Shintō origin. It is the first hint of the groundlessness of Buddhist claims to spiritual ownership in the mountaintops, all of which they assert that they opened, that is first made accessible to mankind. But in spite of the very catholic character of the pretension the right to such eminent domain grows airier and airier the closer we scrutinize it. The Buddhist idea, like the early Christian, seems to have been: when confronted by a strong popular superstition, baptize it at once.

The third peculiarity about these pilgrimages consists in their being probably the most unreligious in the world. Speaking profanely, they are peripatetic picnic parties,

faintly flavored with piety; just a sufficient suspicion of it to make them palatable to the godly half of very human gods. For a more mundanely merry company than one of these same pilgrim bands on the march it would be hard to meet, and to put up at an inn in the next room to one of them is to seem present at a ball. They are far more the "joly compaignie" of "fayerie" Chaucer tells us of than the joyless "lymytours" that displaced it.

Sociability indeed is the keynote of the affair from start to finish. To go upon a pilgrimage alone is not an act consonant with the Japanese temperament. In the first place the national gods are not beings to beget that exclusiveness of communion which is of the essence of western religious notions. Every people is the poor relation of its own gods, since its gods are necessarily the embodiment of its spiritual aspirations. Now far-eastern aspirations are relatively slightly tinged with individuality; they therefore lack exclusiveness. To the impersonal Japanese mind God and I are not the spiritual ultimates they are to the more personal western religious one, to which the spirituality of any third person is a dim after-thought. That such is the Aryan conception of things is shown by the sacredness with which the subject is invested. If a highly personalized person believes anything he believes it too intensely to share his communion with others unless from very surplusage of conviction he be driven to try to convert the world. The far-oriental lacks the desire for propagandism because he lacks first the throbbing sense of self in the whole subject. His deities share the social impersonality of the race. Consequently to commune with deity is to him no more private a matter than to commune with anyone else. And this latter act is to him not intrinsically private at all. Of our desire for privacy as such he has no notion. What little secrecy he observes is of objective occasion. It is the subject matter not the subjective self that

bars communication to a third. For a like reason he knows no secrets of the soul. The care with which Japanese public assassins and suicides conceal their coming crime, instead of being an exception to this statement, as some might think, is a proof of the rule; since these persons always take no less care to leave behind them letters for publication explaining their innermost thoughts on the subject to the world at large. Nor is this act open to the theory that they do so because they are going to the land where all things are forgotten. For they believe in a very actual post-mortem existence, intimately connected with the present one. How intimate is hinted by the fact that their future life is susceptible of being honored by an advance in the rank they bore on earth and that slander of the dead is a crime expressly punishable by law, as the new penal code takes pains to formulate in Article 359. This feeling of the Japanese shows itself in his pilgrimages. It is not simply that he objects to starting alone; his gregariousness goes a great deal deeper than that. He has no mental reservation in the matter throughout. He has not only no reason for going alone but every reason to do otherwise. He cares little whom he travels with, but he is bound to travel with somebody. So he pools his pleasure in advance by making sure to start with a goodly pilgrim company.

To pool his purse is with him also matter of account. Whether the average Japanese should be called poor or not is merely a question of words. If to require next to nothing and to satisfy that infinitesimal need by the help of others while being supremely happy withal, be not poor, then the Japanese is not poor. But he is unquestionably impecunious. His personal property of impersonality is only matched by the impersonality of his personal property. For what a Japanese appears to possess is, ten to one, hypothecated of a friend and what he really owns mortgaged to a neighbor. He is, in short, but a link in one long chain.

of loan. We talk of our far-reaching system of mercantile credits. It is financial self-sufficiency beside the everyday state of far-eastern affairs. Borrowing there is both unlimited and unbusiness-like. The national means of subsistence viewed individually reminds one of that of the horse which his master pastured for poverty's sake on a neighbor's field and when asked what he fed him on, replied on "borry."

To these racial conditions of mind and money are due the founding of the pilgrim clubs.

The pilgrim clubs (*kōsha* or *kō*) are great institutions quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Indeed they are numerous beyond belief. Their aggregate must be something enormous, for collectively they are said to comprise eighty per cent. of the entire population of the empire, a statement I accept only at the Japanese evaluation of the numeral, that is an incalculable amount. Their individual membership consists on the average of from one hundred to five hundred persons apiece. Some clubs are smaller than this and of some the membership mounts into the thousands. The *Tamoye kō*, the largest I know of, has from eleven to fifteen thousand men enrolled in it. That these are drawn chiefly from the small tradesman and artizan class speaks for the hold the habit has on the people.

The constitution of the club is proportionally simple. It holds its charter now-a-days from the head of the sect. The charter is got by some energetic individual of the society-founding-propensity who collects about him a few friends and incidentally appoints himself to the club presidency, becoming what is called its *sendatsu*. When not thus self-appointed the president is elected by the brethren for his religious proficiency, which comes back again by another road to the same thing.

One great charm about these clubs is their cheapness. Whatever may be argued by domestically inclined persons against clubs generally on the score of expense, these



at least would hardly seem open to the charge. For the initiation fee is from five to ten sen (three to five cents) and the dues from one to two sen (that is from two-thirds of a cent to a cent and a third) a month, according to the club. And yet the president of one of them once told me that the principal item in his club's running expenses was the cost of dunning the members for their dues. So lamentably human is humanity the world over. But indeed it was a serious matter, for it amounted, it appeared, to a fifth of the gross receipts. His club consisted of five hundred members and was of the relatively expensive kind, that is the one and a third cent a month, or eight cents a year class, which sum it took eighty dollars to collect.

When his club obligations have finally been discharged the member receives a ticket (*kansatsu*) with the name of the club and of the subject from which it holds inscribed on its face and the name of the member and half the stamp of the club seal on its back. The other half remains in the registry book of which the ticket is a slip. The ticket constitutes a certificate of membership to all whom it may concern, inn-keepers principally.

Forgetfulness to discharge one's club dues is the less excusable in the face of their being of the nature of gambling debts. For after the cost of collection and the other running expenses have been deducted the balance is drawn for by lot by the members, to be pocketed by the lucky few, through the club treasurer, for pilgrimage purposes.

Once a year, about three weeks before the pilgrim band is to start, the lots are drawn and in the drawing everybody who has paid up participates except the winners of previous pools. They are barred to give the unlucky a chance, till everyone shall have had his journey apiece. Thus are the inequalities of fate corrected and all eventually made happy at the club expense.

The dues being so modest the percentage of prizes is necessarily small; only about three members in a hundred being annually recipients of the club fund. Paucity of prizes doubtless conduces to remissness in paying up; and even rotation in eligibility, just though it be, does not add to the desire of past winners to make present, personally unprofitable, disbursement.

The occasion of the drawing is the most important in the annual annals of the club. It is its great field-night. To it everybody comes, drawn by that universal magnet the possibility of a prize, practically impossible though such be. Nor is it stretching credulity to suppose even those present who are barred the chance, so strong is the instinctive interest in chance as such—despite that it be foredoomed to result to another's gain.

Inasmuch as club buildings are expensive, the place of meeting is usually the president's own house, which is none too large and is consequently crowded. The president leads off by choosing what shall be the winning numbers, which he submits to the approval of the assembly. They are then inscribed on a memorandum and given to the clerk to hold against the drawing. Twisted tapers, numbered in regular order, are next stuffed into a hanging basket and drawn out in turn. Those who are lucky enough to draw the numbers corresponding to the memorandum are declared the winners and held to be specially invited of the gods to visit them. The club fund is turned over to the club treasurer for their benefit and everyone heartily envies them their lot.

The envy is principally pecuniary. For though the god is supposed through the lots to show a gratifying preference for the winner's company, he is not considered averse to self-invited visitors. Anyone who wishes to do so may join himself to the pilgrim company, at his own expense; and many do.

On the day appointed for the start, the god-chosen and the self-invited rendezvous at what stands to the club for club-house, and thence sally forth to the envy of the less lucky, under the guidance of their revered president. This individual being presumably the holiest man in the club, if not the actual author of its being, is clothed from the start with a certain fatherly prestige. His importance is heightened by his having made the pilgrimage several times before. In fact he goes usually every year. On the road he acts as guide, philosopher and friend, expounding the wonders of the way to the simpler brethren who believe it all and when they get back repeat the marvels in their turn to a no less spell-bound audience at home. For like the month of March, they come in like lions who went out like lambs.

Beside a cicerone's gratified sense of importance there are other, more substantial, benefits accruing to the post of club president. For the worthy man is not only the head but the only dead-head of the party. He alone pays no scot. This is probably a delicate extension to the next world of the well known principle in this that the guide should receive from those who profit by the patronage he brings a certain percentage of their gains. Otherwise the saintly man is superior to money consideration; the purse being carried by the *tori-shimari-nin* or treasurer.

The treasurer is the club's man of affairs, of very small affairs indeed. The Japanese are not above a monetary system which descends in decimals to the thousandth part of a cent, and what is more surprising they keep accounts to the like infinitesimal terms. No wonder that neither arithmetic nor trade have charms for them. To this general practice the club-treasurer is no stranger. Nothing is too small to figure in his cash-book, from a fresh pair of straw sandals to a cup of tea. To all of which the inn-keeper with due solemnity affixes his seal on a bill lilliputian in all but length.

In spite of the infinitesimal values of the separate items of the expense, the sum total invariably causes the club fund to fall short, the deficit having to be made up out of the individual pockets of the pilgrims. Unlike the club dues this does not seem to be begrudged, the fact being that a pilgrimage is altogether too detectable a thing not to render those who indulge in it blind to its cost.

The pilgrim clubs are apparently purely Japanese institutions. They find no counterpart in China. They were therefore not imported but grew up on the soil.

## II.

Japanese pilgrimages are essentially of two kinds; the distinction between the two being not so much matter of religion as of topography. The lowland shrines and the sacred summits divide the pilgrim patronage between them to an even greater antithesis than is brought about by the particular faith professed. For with these matter-of-fact devotees the ground of belief is immaterial in comparison with the character of the actual ground to be gone over. With them it is a question of goal, not of goal-keeper. Indeed most of the pilgrims have a beautifully dim idea as to what faith the particular shrine to which they are going really belongs. It would be inconvenient if they had, for shrines have changed ownership more than once and had believers been obliged to explain the spirit of their professions by the changing letter they must have found themselves in the fix of a French patriot who, though of unquestioned loyalty, should, under that more dynamic than static government, be called on to state his exact position toward the political party in power at the moment.

In profession some pilgrimages are Shintō, some Buddhist. There used to be some that were Both, till at the purification the hybrids returned again to the

Shintō fold, for pilgrimage as well as for other purposes. A significant fact this, as to whose sheep they were ; in spite of the Buddhist assertion that what little virtue they possessed they got from them, the Buddhists. Their virtue may have been so derived, since that is matter of creed, to say nothing of their being but vice-Shintō at best—but that their practices were not is pretty well proved by this act alone.

In importance the Shintō pilgrimages are far and away the first, measuring importance by patronage. Half a million folk, it is estimated, make the journey to the shrines at Ise every spring and ten thousand climb Fuji every summer.

There would seem to be a connection between pilgrimages and divine possession in Japan, somewhat closer than that between sun-spots and cyclones, believers in the one being peculiarly given to the other. Not only are most of the pilgrim clubs Shintō—for to say that they are Japanese in origin is to say that they are Shintō, and though there are now Buddhist pilgrim clubs they owe their being not to being Buddhist but to being Japanese—but what Buddhist clubs there are belong to those Buddhist sects that have borrowed—without acknowledgment—Shintō occult practices, that is, the Tendai, the Shingon and the Hokke sects. Indeed properly speaking the Buddhist clubs are really Ryōbu, which inherit their peregrinatory propensity from the Shintō side.

The great Shintō goals are four : Ise and Idzumo, in the plains, and Ontaké and Fuji among the peaks. Though there are many minor goals, either standing alone or affiliated with the greater ones, these four divide the Shintō sects between them. Of these sects there are, in the modern state of the Shintō church, ten. The oldest of the ten—which only implies an age of about twenty years—is of the nature of a government bureau and is sedentary, having no pilgrim clubs. Another goes somewhat further,

in that it has pilgrim clubs which, however, go no whither. Of the other eight, three are devoted to Ontaké, two to Ise, two to Fuji, and one to Idzumo. Those devoted to the plain shrines naturally have much the largest following. Sects do not mix goals but it is quite permissible for individuals to mix sects. So that persons of advanced pilgrimage habit can indulge it to any extent without too tiresome repetition.

Pilgrimages to the lowland shrines and to the sacred peaks differ in several important respects; in dress to start with. For the Japanese are quite in line with the rest of the world in believing man to be composed, as the satirist put it, of soul, body and clothes, and in giving not the least attention to the last. Though they have never formulated the fact that I know of—it would not be in character to do so—they act on it artistically with praiseworthy appreciation. Each of the two classes of shrines has its special costume; for the one the height of holiday, for the other of ascetic, attire. For shrines in the plain the dress is as gala-like as possible. Indeed a man's best things are hardly good enough; he must get better things for the occasion even though he borrow the money to do so. But as no poorest person but finds some friendly soul, in this land where all are at least common relatives of the gods, to lend him the wherewith, a pilgrim band is a very effective affair; a thing of beauty which in these people's eyes instantly justifies not only its existence but its cost. The degree of dress is a question of the shrine. The greater the goal, the gayer the garb.

More distinctive is the costume consecrated to the peaks. Speaking theoretically it is pure white or pure grey according to the sect or the particular club; speaking practically it is a grimy dirt-color in both cases. For it is never washed, the travel stains being a part of its acquired sanctity. Its hue, artificially self-effacing to begin with, is thus still further obliterated by nature to con-

formity with its surroundings. It is the most entirely impersonal of colors, a sort of neutral nothing admirably expressive of a proper spirit within. On the pilgrim's maiden tramp it is as blank as his mind; afterwards as natural as his acquired nature knowledge.

It begins with a huge mushroom hat made of wood-shavings cleverly plaited, held on by a series of straps. Natural deal-color is deemed in this connection as holy as pure white, since both are attempts at colorlessness. Under this hat, umbrella or parasol, for it is most serviceably any of them as occasion requires, the pilgrim wears a white fillet binding his brow. This gives his face quite a Grecian front. A long white tunic comes next, which theoretically is the only garment the pilgrim wears. Practically he usually has on something beneath it, first in the shape of a shirt and then of tight-fitting trouser-drawers. The tunic is thoroughly stamped with ideographs; some of them being the names of the gods of the mountain, some those of the pilgrim club. Girdling this is a long belt-sash, round which often runs a row of transmogrified sanscrit letters, quite illegible to the wearer or to anyone else, so caricatured have they been by successive ignorant transmission. Their illegibility of course enhances their religious effect, much as the unlearned feel something spiritually elevating in pronouncing the word amen. White gaiters, white cloven socks and straw-sandals complete the more intimate part of the costume. The gaiters are sometimes lavender for the ladies.

But the most angelic portion of the dress is the wing-like mat (*goza*) which the pilgrim wears over his shoulders by a strap across the breast. As it extends beyond his arms on either side and flaps in the wind as he walks it gives him an ostrich-like effect at a distance and what I conceive to be a seraphic one nearer to. At all events it is the nearest mundane attempt at angelic representation. And what is even more saintly

it is quite without vain-glorious design, for it is intended solely for a combination waterproof-coat and linen-duster. It is also, very conveniently, both a carpet and a bed.

In his right hand the pilgrim carries a consecrated staff. This is sometimes round, sometimes octagonal and is branded with the name of the peak and stamped in red with the sign of the shrine. The imprint further states whether the pilgrim came by the front entrance or the back one, for mountains usually have both doors, the original path being held to be the front one. The staves are sold and stamped at what is known as the portal to the peak, the place, that is, where the ascent is supposed to begin. They are counter-stamped again at the summit to testify to the ascent's having been made. They are thus certificates of good works and irrefutably silence the sceptical when the pilgrim gets home and spins his yarns.

At his girdle each man usually carries a kerosene-looking tin can in which to carry home some of the holy water, which is a specialty of most sacred mountains. With sublime indifference to detail it is a panacea for all ills.

In his right hand the leader of the party holds a bell which he rings as he walks; others often do the like. This sound, together with the chanting in which all join, gives a very fine processional effect to the march.

Pocketed somehow about their persons, the pilgrims carry *gohei*-wands, rosaries and various other tools of their trade. In addition to which they go provided with their pilgrim banners, badges and the club's visiting cards. More mundane baggage they have none.

The cause of the difference in costume between the two classes of shrine, is not without its moral. For, after all, the one is not particularly religious, being a mere exaggeration of secular adornment, while the other is a matter of punctilious regard for the god. The reason for this reminds one of the reason the little girl gave for omitting



her prayers in the morning, though she said them punctiliously at night: that she needed God to protect her while she was asleep but that she could look after herself in the daytime. For the mountain costume is put on to ingratiate the gods. There being some danger about the mountain ascents, it is considered best to take all possible precautions for protection.

As an introduction to the chief differences between the lowland shrines and the sacred peaks, differences due to the character of the ground, I will mention one difference not due to it but which, curiously enough, is the result of religion. Their patronage differs, or more strictly speaking did differ, in sex. For femininity flocks to the one and, until Western ideas broke down all barriers, was debarred the other. This was no matter of physique; but of piety. Woman was altogether too godless a creature to tread such holy ground as the peaks. This will seem odd to Western ideas, where woman when not godlike is usually godly, and at times both. She was graciously permitted to climb three quarters way up and was then obliged to stop, which must have been considerably more aggravating than not to have been allowed to climb at all.

That the fair sex was thus discriminated against shows one psychic fact pretty clearly. It shows that there can be little lack of religious feeling in a people whose church can afford thus to bar one sex; and that by nature the religious one of the two. One wonders what western churches would do for support under like hierachical laws. That to the speculative emotional Aryan mind far-orientals seem dull to other world observance is not due to lack of religion, but to their all-pervading matter-of-fact light-hearted character.

Proof that woman is no less devout in Japan by nature than elsewhere is the way in which she flocks to the lowland shrines and has a beautiful time of it the whole distance. To see her trudging sturdily along, beam-

ing at the least provocation, the very impersonation of vacant good humor, is as good as a gleam of unexpected sunshine. Sometimes she dutifully follows in the wake of her lord and master; sometimes she shuffles along in the exclusive society of her own sex, volubly chattering continuously upon nothing at all. But she is always perfectly happy and apparently never tired. She has no nerves.

To Ise go pilgrim clubs composed entirely of pilgrimesses, maidens of Kyōto and Ōsaka who make the journey in bands of from fifty to a hundred, taking with them only a man or two to do the heavy work; veritable bouquets of pretty girls. If the god be half the man he is thought to be, he cannot be insensible to such feminine attention.

Stranger still to our straight-laced notions of propriety little girls of ten and twelve surreptitiously club together and some fine morning slip off all by themselves to the Ise shrine unbeknown to their parents. There is some slight alarm when the disappearance is first discovered. But the very inquiry that raises anxiety soon lulls it by revealing several similar bereavements among the parents' particular friends. Then the financial accomplices of the deed, kindly disposed neighbors wheedled by the children into loaning them the necessary funds, come forward and own up, now that the borrowers are beyond recall. But indeed so soon as the cause of the flight is known there would seem to be no thought of fetching back the fugitives. On the contrary their act is deemed eminently praiseworthy, which strikes one as perhaps unphilosophic. But religion covers a multitude of sins.

The parental heart is not set quite at rest till other pilgrims returning from the shrine bring word of the waifs; one has met the little girls disembarking at Yokkai-chi, another saw them at the Ise inn, all report the truants quite well and happy, as if children at mischief were ever otherwise. Then with palpitations of pride the parents

make preparations against their return. Elaborate these are, for honor enough, apparently, cannot be done the young scapegraces. Days before they can possibly be expected to arrive their relatives go out to meet them a long way down the road and then wait at some convenient village till the band comes in sight. The girls are received with praise in place of blame and amid great rejoicings escorted into town; a reception which conduces to recurrence of the escapade.

Each lowland shrine has its special festival season, although it may also be visited advantageously at other times. Pilgrimage to the shrines at Ise is made at the time the cherries blow. Then the great highways that lead thither are as gay with pilgrim folk below as their flower aisles are gay with blossom overhead. The progress of each band is one long triumphal march. As it nears an inn where it purposes to spend the night, runners are dispatched ahead to notify the place of its coming, which instantly is all bustle to receive it. Hastily donning their best clothes the maids and other servants go to meet the band some way out and escort it in with festival pomp. A feast follows in the evening, as spirituous as spiritual, pointed with pious song quite secularly sung. At the end of it there is something very like a break-down by the whole company, maids and all. The pilgrims rising, make a ring about the maids in the middle and then walk round and round chanting the Ise hymn while the maids join lustily in the chorus. In this unpuritanical fashion is each evening brought to a close.

On their departure the next morning the pilgrims present everybody with mementoes of themselves: the inn with the club-banner and the maids with the club visiting cards. Especially is the president to the fore with this charming self-advertisement. Quantities of both kinds of keepsakes are carried in large quantities by the band, and distributed without stint. For in the pilgrim estima-

tion not to scatter such souvenirs of themselves along their route would be to travel in vain. The pleased recipients accompany the band some distance out, speeding its departure with the like good wishes with which they welcomed its approach.

But the bouquet of pageantry is the moment when the pilgrim company re-enters in triumph its native town. Careful account has been kept of its whereabouts, and just before it is due horses strangely and gorgeously caparisoned are sent out to meet it. On either side the horses' necks are stuck long bamboo fronds, in front of which hang pieces of gaily colored crape. Each horse carries a rich riding-saddle to which are fastened two paniers, one on either hand; each steed thus seating three persons apiece, one astride in the middle and two asquat in the baskets on the sides. With the steeds are sent personal adornments for the pilgrims; hats made of flowers (*hanayasa*) and gayly embroidered coats, beside cakes and coppers for scattering to the crowd. Thus garbed and barbed, strewing the largess rollickingly by as they ride, do the pious pilgrims make their entry home. That evening a banquet is given them by their relatives and friends regardless of expense, like some coming of age in the gay middle ages. Saké and merriment flow without stint and the next day the pilgrims sink back into private life, like other famous folk.

More serious matters are the pilgrimages to the peaks; both on the score of piety and of pedestrianism, for the one affects the other. Unlike the lowland shrines whose element situations permit a choice of reception days, the peaks all have the same season for receiving mankind. Midsummer is their consecrated time. This of course is decided primarily by natural conditions, but has been further stereotyped by custom till to contravene it would seem to Japanese not simply impious but impossible. They firmly believe

the mountains inaccessible except in midsummer, preparatory to which every year takes place what is called the mountain opening (*yamabiraki*). This is done with some pomp annually about the 26th of July, at which time each mountain is formally climbed for the first time that year, the path repaired and prayer offered on the summit. The ceremony is a matter of some three days. The peaks then remain "open" till about the 8th of September, after which they are deserted again till the next July.

The ascent of the higher and more important peaks is curiously convenienceed for the comfort of the holy climbers. Each is well ribboned with paths in May-pole fashion from the peak to all parts of the base, so that pilgrims arriving from one side are not obliged to make a half circuit before attacking the climb. The paths are all thoughtfully beaded with rest-houses at intervals suited to the weakness of the flesh. A care-taker inhabits each of them and dispenses tea, cakes, water and scanty fare to the exhausted and also provides *futon* and other strict necessities for spending the night. For they are built not only to solace the wayfarer by day but to shield him till dawn. In the season they are crowded with pilgrims. Nominally there are always ten of them on every path from base to summit, one at the end of each of the ten stations into which the path is considered to be divided. These divisions go by the rather startling name of "gills" (*go*), as the "first gill," the "fifth gill," and so up to the "tenth gill" which lands the pilgrim at the top. Amid much that is passing strange in the Japanese method of mountaineering this surprising nomenclature for a waterless slope is perhaps the strangest. Were the rest-houses so designated there might be a realistic suggestiveness about the name. But it is to the mountain itself that it is applied with what must be thought very ill-placed humor. For the path is usually painfully dry. The mountain, it is ex-

plained, is likened to a heap of spilled rice. The truth is the measure is one for both rice and liquids, and the capacity of a mountain is held to be a *shō*, that is about three pints, quite irrespective of its size. The path, by an analogical extension, is therefore called a quart and a half long and then divided into tenths, each of which becomes a gill. The archetype that suggested this strange system may have been conical enough to warrant it, but it is now applied to all high peaks indiscriminately, whether they show irreconcilable irregularity or not. However, the suggestion of the liquid is regrettable, for climbing a dry mountain is a very humorless affair. It becomes a practical joke of the most objectionable character when you reach one of the gill huts only to find it closed, an event which fortunately happens only when you are behind time in the season and the mountain is already shutting up for the year.

Shrines beside the path are almost as numerous as rest-houses, demanding their momentary mumble of the passer-by. Temples also are not wanting. There are several at the bottom, one at the top and often others between, for though there be few on the flanks themselves, the foot of a mountain is of arbitrarily indefinite length. Although untenanted of priests they all stand open to the public, and the cords of their bells hang conspicuous, mutely asking the pilgrim to call upon the god.

But the most peculiar and withal picturesque of the purely religious features of the way are the *torii* or portals, that straddle the path in guarding sentinels, true colossi of roads. There are ever so many of them in all, the outermost placed at a seemingly quite disconnected distance away from what it would herald. The several passes known as *torii tōge* which you shall find scattered all over Japan are each and all so called from the portals erected on their tops to sacred peaks visible from them in clear weather. One of the best known is the *Torii tōge* on the Nakasendō,

through whose arch the pilgrim as he tops the pass catches his first view of Ontaké, just peeping over intervening ranges of hills, thirty miles away as the cranes might fly, if there still were any cranes to speak of in Japan. From this outermost one the pilgrim's progress carries him under one after the other of these most picturesque structures, till entrance through the last lands him on the holy summit itself. Or, to be more exact, would so carry him were it not for a pious distrust of his own purity, which prevents him from passing under them on the ascent and modestly induces him to go round them instead. Increase in holiness overcomes shyness on the way down.

To bead the journey with points of interest many minor shrines, considered affiliated to the main object of the pilgrimage, are taken in on the way. Ōyama is in this manner visited on the pilgrimage to Fuji. These minor shrines are either related to, or direct descendants of, the main one. For shrines, spiritually, propagate after their kind. Ōmanago, near Nikkō, for example, is an offshoot of Ontaké, having been consecrated to the god of Ontaké about fifty years ago. This habit of offshooting permits many persons vicariously to visit what they might otherwise never have the chance to reach; inasmuch as the branch establishments (*debari*) as the Japanese call them are scattered all over the land.

The church is not above trade. Faith in it has become in its hands a marketable commodity. In return for ready money it barter its spiritual power in the shape of charms. These are simple pieces of paper stamped with lithographed characters, the names of the gods, and sometimes embellished with rude portraits of the same; manufactured by the million and sold in like numbers. Every shrine keeps a booth and some salesmen for the purpose and does an enormous business in the article. For no pilgrim passes on his way without buying his charm. Some of these charms (*mamori*) guard one against special catastrophe,

disease or misfortune; some bring particular good luck, such as a prolific propagation of one's silk-worms; others are cure-alls and universal protectors. Their prices are popular. For half a cent one may purchase immunity from all the ills to which humanity is heir. The result is that no one can afford to return home charmless, and though nothing particularly fortunate follow the possession of the slip, there is at least no knowing how much worse off the man might have been if he had had it not.

At the present time Ontaké and Fuji are the two most patronized peaks, for even pilgrimages are not exempt from the exigencies of fashion. Yudonosan in the northwest was one of their predecessors in spiritual popularity: a Ryōbu resort, it was specially famous as the home of the hot-water miracle (*kugadachi*). In numbers of devotees the peaks naturally do not command the patronage of the plain shrines. Nevertheless in the midsummer season the mountains are simply beaded with folk going up or coming down, and the huts on their sides crowded with holy men. In their short six weeks the numbers on popular peaks rise well into their thousands.

The pilgrims are much given to chanting as they march. They do it as naturally as some people whistle. The Ise bands go rolling along to the enlivening cadence of the *Ise ondo* and to many more special odes set to what they are pleased to think music. It is rhythm on the road to song, a kind of caterpillar stage in the art of melody needing transformation to become the winged thing.

The chants consecrated to the peaks are more truly processional. Common to all of them is the stirring refrain *Rokkon shōjō*; *Ōyama kaisei*; chanted antiphonally in two tones, the second half about a fifth higher than the first. Literally the meaning is: May our six parts be pure and may the weather on the honorable peak be fine. But the words are mystic to most of those who repeat them. The first half is a portion of one of the purification prayers, the *Rokkon*



*shōjō no harai*; the second a part of a prayer for fine weather. It is said to be simply invaluable in dispelling mist. Certain it is that it can not fail to thrill any one who hears it. Few effects are finer than the spectacle of one of these pilgrim bands mounting slowly in the dawn to the rhythm of this more than martial refrain.

### III.

There is one mountain that makes bourn to a farther journey than any possible to the feet. Ontaké is goal to the soul's pilgrimage into the other world. For Ontaké is the mountain of trance. To its summit pilgrims ascend, not simply to adore but to be there actually incarnate of the gods. Through the six weeks in which the gods condescend to man, divine-possession daily take place upon it. What is more, it is the only peak in Japan where, of the spot's own instance, such communion is thought to occur. It is what the Japanese call the great original (*honmoto*) of trance; other peaks, such as Ōmanago, getting their power by direct descent from it.

Till two years ago all this remained as unsuspected of foreigners as if it had been concealed on purpose. It is true that Ontaké is out of the tide of ordinary travel. But it is a conspicuous and, secularly speaking, a well known peak, and has more than once been climbed by Europeans. That these trances should have escaped the notice of all the earlier explorers would be simply inexplicable in any other land than Japan, where so much still remains inevitably shrouded by difference in language, manners and mind. Yet escape recognition they did. Rein, that indefatigable collector of facts and statistics, managed many years ago to get to the top and then to the bottom again without seeing anything. The guidebook, in the person of an enthusiastic pedestrian,

contrived to do likewise. Several other travellers, first and last, made the climb and similarly succeeded in not perceiving anything unusual; so blind are men to what they do not expect to see. For the trances were there and the Japanese peasants who guided these several gentlemen knew about them all the time.

That Ontaké is the only peak that reaches thus to heaven has of course helped to keep the mysteries so much more mysterious than even their performers intended. For among the Japanese the act is not peculiarly secret. The methods to its accomplishment alone are esoteric, and even these might be called more an open secret of the profession than a mystery proper, for who will may enter the path that leads to them.

In keeping with the spirituality of the peak, is the esoterism of the pilgrim clubs that climb it. In this essential respect the Ontaké clubs differ from all their fellows. God-possession is the mainspring of their existence; the pivot upon which everything, even to their very constitution, turns. Instead of simple prayer-meetings in their dead season, they hold regular seances for the special purpose of becoming entranced. They are thus in constant communion with the gods. Their business, in fine, is divine-possession.

In a sense they have, therefore, no dead season. For they are always journeying in spirit to their far bourne. The reason why in summer they also take the trouble to travel on foot is that a higher spiritual flight is possible from Ontaké than is ever possible from town. The thin, pure air of the peaks is conducive to etheriality and Ontaké is furthermore invested with faith's most potent spell. If to have faith as a grain of mustard seed can remove mountains, it is not easy to set bounds to what a mountain of it might not manage to do.

Each club is a divine dramatic company in itself and contains all the performers necessary to a possession. The only exceptions to such a complement are some very

small clubs. These, however, are usually presided over by a *sendatsu*, who is also *sendatsu* of some larger club—for it is no unusual thing for several clubs to have a president in common—and their *sendatsu* borrows of himself in the one capacity what he needs in the other. The loan of a *nakaza* is thus easily managed.

Large clubs contain several such companies. There may be as many as fifteen *nakaza* in a club and twice that number of *maeza*. There is no rule in the matter. But except for exceptional cases of *esprit de corps* many *maeza* or *nakaza* in one club do not apparently make a happy family of it, finding divided prestige disagreeable. So, like queen bees, they swarm with their following and found a new club. Such fission is the commonest mode of club generation.

The *sendatsu*, or club president, is always, I believe, the chief *maeza*, in accordance with what one would expect. Next to him in spiritual importance comes the *nakaza*. Indeed the two offices are practically co-important, the former being more a matter of learning, the latter of natural aptitude. The one is the acme of action, the other of inaction, in the club. Most *maeza* have at some time been possessed, but not being specially good at it have given up the practice for the more congenial one of directing the function. To attain to either post is a matter of spiritual proficiency and promotion through various ecclesiastical grades. One begins an ordinary pious member of the club. From this he rises, if pious enough, to the post of *shiten* and then successively to that of *wakiza*, deputy *maeza* and eventually to the exalted one of *maeza* or even of *nakaza* itself. All by way of the austerities.

*Nakaza* being as much god-given as self-made are naturally somewhat less common than *maeza*. One is the usual quota for a club; one, that is, in active practice. For there may be and often is what may oddly enough be called an *inkyō-nakaza*, or retired god. An ordinary *inkyō*, a

man professedly out of the world while still patently in it, is a sufficiently odd conception, but to be a retired potential god would seem a doubly etherialized idea. Nevertheless the thing exists, and in case of sickness or other incapacity on the part of the *nakaza*, the man who represents this abdicated embodiment of immateriality performs in the other's place.

The *inkyō-nakaza* was the previous regular *nakaza* of the club; the present one being his direct successor in the profession. For each club educates its own *nakaza*; the new god-man being formed under the tuition of the *mæza* and the then *nakaza*; after which the old one retires. There is thus an unbroken chain in the possession traditions. Each club is a small Salpêtrière perpetuating its own peculiar practice. For each club has its special methods handed down from time unknown. The thing being with these people an art and not a science, the clubs do not go the length of the Paris school in affirming to be necessities of the trance state what are merely accidental adjuncts to it innocently induced by suggestion and similarly perpetuated; they content themselves with purely practical claims, averring their particular method to be the one permitting the most intimate intercourse with deity.

The chief difference between these various schools of divinity consists in the opening or non-opening of the eyes of the possessed during the height of the trance. Those clubs that are possessed with their eyes open claim that those that are not are more subject to imposition; which is plausible, as to counterfeit the glazed look of an entranced is certainly no easy feat, if indeed it be possible. In neither school does the entranced see. Other actions of the possessed during the trance are also stereotyped. Indeed his whole behavior in it is no more nor less than a bundle of hypnotic habits. The mechanical raising of the *gohei*-wand to his

forehead, the peculiar frenzied shake he gives it, the settling of it again to a statuesque imperative before his brow are all but so many cases of unintentional artificiality. This is particularly discernible in the difference between the simpler attitudes of the Ryōbu trances and the more elaborate poses of the pure Shintō ones. And the Buddhist feminine fashions are again different. Another instance of unwitting artificiality common to all is the tone of voice of the possessed. God he is and god's voice he unintentionally simulates, nor does he make a bad guess either at what dramatically it might be supposed to be. That all these forms should be so invariable and in a sense put on, does not of course make them shams in the least; they are merely abnormal habits quite paralleled by all our normal ones.

To be a club *nakaza* is pretty hard work. He must be possessed at least two or three times a month and may be called upon to be somebody beside himself much oftener. It depends upon how much divination work there is to be done. This is of two kinds. There is first the regular routine business of the club in the way of prophecy: the foretelling of drought, storms, earthquakes and other general catastrophes affecting the interest of the club. Some clubs have to interview the gods once a month on such matters; others manage to get along on two questionings a year, at the two great semi-annual festivals. This is probably due to club-temperament just as it suffices some people to ask a question once for all while others have to be perpetually putting it under indistinguishably different forms. In addition to this routine work there are the inevitable extras: the unavoidable illnesses, all of which have to be cured by divine prescription, and other misfortunes, which are susceptible of relief from the same source. Between all these various woes to be provided against, the god, and incidentally the poor *nakaza*, is kept pretty busy. To be so frequently divine has its

drawbacks. Except for its *succès d'estime* he must wish at times that he were merely mortal. Even to the rest of the club the divine interviews are no slight strain. Doubtless they are also highly enjoyable to it; less so to an outsider; for they are not superficially clever; which is the best guarantee of their genuineness. The Delphic oracles, for example, were much too brilliant to have been divine.

An actual specimen of the work of one of these clubs may be of interest. The club, the August Dance Pilgrim Club, is one I happen to fancy. It is a typical club of about a hundred and thirty-five members, all drawn from the artizan class, small carpenters, plasterers and the like, and possesses an exceptionally good *nakaza*. Once a month they interview deity on the good fortune or misfortune coming to the club during the next thirty days. The *nakaza* goes into the trance, is questioned by the *maeza* and his reply then recorded on a slip of paper by one of the *sewanin* (literally help-men, the minor officials of the club) and carefully filed. So that one may find in the club archives just what the club's history was, or should have been, month by month in the past. The prophecies are laconic and suggest in indefiniteness the predictions of the New England Farmer's Almanac about the weather for the year. This however does not detract from their chance of verification. These interviews would from preference take place on the first day of each month, but as the members of the club are all hard-working men to whom bodily necessity precedes spiritual luxury, the first few days of the month are taken up with purely mundane business matters—the first day being the Japanese day for settling their so-called accounts—and spiritual concerns rarely get attended to before the fifth. On the sixth the club dues are collected, a cent a member. For individual illnesses and the like, their *nakaza* is further possessed on occasion, usually in all five

or six times a month ; sometimes as many as seven or eight. In addition to all of which he works like anybody else at his regular trade and is a strong, hearty, young fellow in spite of being a god so goodly a fraction of his time.

The Ontaké pilgrim clubs thus furnish their members society not to be found in any other clubs on earth : the company of heaven to be had for the asking. For the Ontaké pilgrim clubs are the only clubs in the world whose honorary members are, not naval officers, not distinguished foreigners, not princely figure-heads, but gods.

## ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LOOCHOOANS.

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BY BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

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[*Read 14th June, 1893.*]

The close connection between the Japanese race and language and the Loochoan race and language having been long known or surmised in a vague way, it was but natural that one who, like myself, had spent half his life in studying Japanese should wish to ascertain the exact nature of the relationship. An additional incentive was given by the fact that my grandfather, Captain Basil Hall, who visited Great Loochoo in 1816, when in command of H. M. S. "Lyra," was the first author to describe that island in any detail for European readers, while one of his officers, Lieut. Clifford, appended to Captain Hall's narrative a vocabulary which was not only the first attempt made by any foreigner to deal with the Loochoan language, but has remained practically the only one down to the present day. So strangely isolated and little known is this Lilliputian island realm, that the fingers of two hands suffice to enumerate the brief European notices that have appeared on Loochoo and its people during the seventy-five years that have elapsed since the publication of Capt. Hall's book.

Having myself spent but one month in the archipelago, and having resided nearly the whole of that time at the port of Nafa in the Main Island, I cannot of course pretend



to have done more than scratch the surface of the subject, though I worked hard, rode about the country, and supplemented my own observations by perusing every available Japanese written source of information, and moreover enjoyed constant social intercourse both with native Loochooans of the highest rank and with the resident Japanese officials. All that is attempted in the present paper is to bring before the indulgent notice of the members of the " Asiatic Society of Japan " some of the most noteworthy characteristics of the land and people, no effort being made either at completeness or at logical order. To treat of Loochoo properly and exhaustively must be left to future scholars with fuller information and more leisure for the task. Such may soon present themselves, seeing that the missionary societies, both Catholic and Protestant, after having abandoned Loochoo for many years as a hopeless field, show signs of preparing to invade it again in earnest. At the time of my visit (March, 1893), the Abbé J. R. Ferrié, of the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*, stationed at Naze, the port of Ōshima, was the sole European of any kind residing in the archipelago. The only European visitors seem to be one or two florists of Yokohama, who occasionally go South in order to collect plants common there, but rare on the mainland. Globe-trotters are absolutely unknown.

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In Loochooan life the very first thing obtruded on the traveller's gaze is death. " What are those white, glistening things ? " he asks of the Japanese captain, as the little steamer runs southward down the dangerous reef-bound coast. " Is it the national washing laid out to dry on the grass ? "—No, it is the white-washed surface of the massive funeral vaults, of which each Loochooan family owns one. So large are these structures, so brightly white, that their sparkling attracts notice before any of the abodes

of the living are clearly distinguishable ; and they are scattered over the land broadcast, as graves are in China, not collected together in cemeteries after the Japanese or European fashion. The shape most in vogue—that of a horse-shoe—has undoubtedly been copied from a Chinese original. Some vaults, however, are rectangular. Perhaps, on second thoughts, a bishop's mitre describes the appearance better than a horse-shoe, the mitre proper being the actual vault, while the ribbands are a wall on either side. The vault is sunk so as to make it equal with the surrounding ground,—generally coral rock ; but the space in front being lower still (for vaults are mostly built on hillsides), the whole height of the front walls is seen. There is a metal door in front, and in the court there sometimes stands a stone screen. The brilliant white colour comes from the plaster used. The dimensions of two average specimens which I measured were as follows :—

Total height of front.....	9 feet 8 inches.
Total breadth.....	22 „ 2 „
Length of court enclosed by walls	24 „ 8 „
Height of opening in front .....	3 „ 8 „
Breadth of opening in front .....	2 „ 8 „
Thickness of all stones used ...	— 16 to 18 in.

The family vault is often a poor family's most valuable possession, not only from a sentimental point of view, but from a pecuniary one, as money can be raised by putting the vault in pawn.

When a Loochooan dies, a mosquito-net is hung over the body, and curtains are drawn all around, so that none may see in. The weeping relatives relieve guard, one by one, in the chamber of death. The funeral is attended not only by the family, but by other mourners, who, said to have been originally the servants of allied families, have in modern times developed into a professional class who earn a livelihood by simulating transports of grief. I had heard much about these funerals both from Japanese and natives ; and

one spring afternoon, while on my way to visit that little gem of beauty, the Royal pleasure-grounds at Shikina, I suddenly came on such a procession hurrying along a country lane,—the Buddhist priest in front, then the coffin, then a train of some thirty persons, of whom five or six were hired mourners, apparently females, though immense straw hats hid their faces from view. They were attired in coarse cloth made of banana fibre, they uttered the most dismal groans, and tottered so that they had to be supported on either side by assistants who, as it were, bore them up and at the same time pulled them rapidly along. The portion of the professional mourner's art most difficult of acquirement and most highly prized is weeping copiously *through the nose*. In the production of these unpleasant tears—for so by courtesy let us call them—the professional mourners are said to attain extraordinary proficiency. The coffin having been brought to the vault, is left shut up for two years. Then in the third year the relations assemble again, and the nearest of kin wash the bones, which are deposited in earthenware urns of curious make, ornamented with the lotus and other emblems that bear witness to a formerly penetrating Buddhist influence now almost extinct. The remains of married couples rest together in the same large urn. Bachelors and spinsters—but Loochoo harbours few such—have urns half the size. All the urns of a family are ranged round the interior of the vault on shelves, in order of precedence.\*

More original still than the funeral customs of the Loochooans is their usage with regard to weddings. After the "middleman"—the marriage broker, as he might be termed—has negotiated the preliminaries, and proper

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\* Mr. Satow's authorities misled him into the belief that the native Loochooan funeral rites had been discontinued. (*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 8.) Such is still far from being the case.

presents have been sent by the bridegroom to the bride's family, the proceedings are as follows :—The bride is escorted to the man's house at one or two o'clock in the morning, surrounded by all her relations, the object of these precautions of time and escort being that the affair may not be bruited abroad and excite impertinent curiosity in the neighbourhood. She and the bridegroom exchange cups of *sake* (rice beer) after which she is at once led home again. This brief ceremony is repeated three nights running, after which she remains three days with her parents, while the bridegroom is carried off by his friends to a brothel, where they hold high revel. The object of this step, so far as the man is concerned, is that he may, on the very threshold of matrimony, prove his independence of wifely leading-strings, while to the woman it gives an opportunity to display freedom from jealousy, which is considered the worst of all feminine vices. After three days spent in this manner, the bridegroom goes home, being joined by the bride, who keeps house with him for another period of three days, at the expiration of which the bride goes to her parents' home, whither the bridegroom follows her. Her relations await his arrival with a pestle, painted and ornamented to represent a horse, on which he rides in, while all the boys of the neighbourhood greet his advent with drums and tomtoms and anything that will make a noise. A grand family feast then takes place, after which the happy couple return home, and the long wedding ceremonies are at last concluded.

Of the Loochooan ladies I cannot speak from personal experience. I never saw one during the whole period of my visit; and Japanese friends who had spent months in well-to-do Loochooan households informed me that they had never once caught a glimpse of the ladies of the family, and what is perhaps stranger still, had never even heard them. Loochooan gentlemen do not allude to their women-kind in conversation. To do so would

be deemed worse than an ordinary breach of etiquette :—it would be an indelicacy. The peasant women, however, and those of the artisan classes go about freely, not even taking the trouble to hide their faces. The daily market, which forms the centre of public life at Nafa—the Yokohama of Loochoo—is entirely in female hands.

The women carry all loads on their heads, Roman fashion, which gives them a firm, erect gait ; and their faces too are firm, square, and often hard in expression, the total result being an unpleasing contrast to the graceful femininity of the Japanese. Perhaps the most comical of all Loochooan sights is that which may be often witnessed of a woman walking to market with a sucking-pig on her head ! A disk of straw serves as a couch to which the animal is firmly tied, with its little legs sticking out fore and aft, so that it looks as if taking a swimming lesson. The Loochooans, apparently averse to allowing animals the use of their legs, carry them in more ways than one. Pigs of mature age and also goats, instead of being driven, are borne between two men on a pole, suspended by their feet, which are tied together, the extreme discomfort of this method of transport to a fat and heavy pig being attested by the screams of the victim. Pigs, of whom we see so little in Japan, are very much to the fore in Loochoo. An ancient regulation, which the new Japanese rulers have not repealed, compels each family to keep four of these animals,—not that there is much need for compulsion in the matter, pork being here, as in China, a much esteemed article of food—a delicacy to the rich, a source of income to the poor. But Loochoo is probably the only country in the world where the pigs live in coral sties. “A traveller’s tale !” you may exclaim. No, it is the sober truth ; but then, remember, there is coral and coral. Loochoo produces none of the pink coral of which ladies’ necklaces are made. On the other hand, the Southern half of the Main Island is of coralline

origin. In fact, the place is one big coral-reef that has gradually risen above the sea-line; and thus it comes about that coral is the handiest material to use for building walls and even pig-sties.

The dress of the Loochooan men resembles Japanese dress; but the use of two hairpins is a peculiarity. The material of which the hairpin is made indicates the rank of the wearer. Royal personages and the very highest nobles have gold, the lesser nobility and the gentry silver, the common people pewter and sometimes wood. The universal custom is for young men to shave their faces until the age of five-and-twenty, after which the moustache and beard are allowed to grow, though the cheeks mostly continue to be shaven.

The women wear hairpins somewhat differently shaped, and bind their hair in a simple coil, which is twisted round itself at the top of the head, the hairpin being stuck through the coil from back to front. No one was able to give me a reason for the sort of scoop or saltspoon with which the hairpin ends. The object of the similar, but much smaller, scoop at the end of a Japanese hairpin is plain enough. It is an instrument wherewith to scratch the inside of the ear, whence its name of *mimi-kaki*. But its Loochooan analogue is clearly far too large for such a purpose. Possibly it is a copy of a Japanese original, in which, as so often happens, the original use of one of the parts having been forgotten, it has degenerated into mere ornament; a "survival," and hence the sport of change and fashion.

Needless to say that the hair, in the arrangement of which the hairpins play a leading part, is black. In the colour of the hair, eyes and skin, and in physical characteristics generally, the Loochooans closely resemble the Japanese. This remark applies especially to the men of the upper classes, which is not wonderful, seeing the attractions offered by Loochoo to adventurous warriors during historical times, the great ninth century archer Tametomo—

himself of Imperial Japanese descent—heading the list. The striking similarity of the two peoples forcibly impressed not only myself, but my highly intelligent Japanese traveling companion, and has always been accepted as an incontrovertible truth by Japanese writers on the subject. Nevertheless it is proper to state that all foreign observers do not concur in this view. Mr. Gubbins, while noticing the close likeness that exists between the upper classes of both countries, calls the lower “almost dwarfish,” adding that “in physiognomy they resemble the Chinese.” Dr. Guillemard, a trained scientific observer, goes much further. “They are,” he says “a short race, probably even shorter than the Japanese, but much better proportioned, being without the long bodies and short legs of the latter people and having as a rule extremely well-developed chests. . . . The Japanese and natives were easily recognised by us from the first, and must therefore be possessed of very considerable differences. The Liu-kiuan has the face less flattened, the eyes are more deeply set, and the nose more prominent at its origin. The forehead is high, and the cheek-bones somewhat less marked than in the Japanese; the eyebrows are arched and thick, and the eyelashes long. The expression is gentle and pleasing, though somewhat sad, and is apparently a true index of their character.”

Dr. Doederlein, writing of Ōshima, the northernmost island of the group, distinguishes two types there,—one unmistakably Japanese, the other having a sharper chin, less developed prognathism, a better nose, larger eyes, and differentiated more especially by a hairiness not less than that of the hairiest Europeans.

The question is an extremely interesting one to Japanese specialists, because bearing on that of the original home and subsequent migrations of the Japanese race. Assuming, for instance, as geography, legend, history, and the present distribution of population in the Japanese archipelago almost force us to do,—assuming that the ances-

tors of the bulk of the Japanese race entered South-Western Japan from Korea, viâ Tsushima as a stepping-stone, did they at once spread over the whole of Kyûshû, exterminating the aborigines, or did they act as a wedge? Did they drive a small fraction of the hairy Aino race South, as we know that they drove the main body of that race North? and if so, is there any Aino blood in Dr. Doederlein's hairy islanders? He himself hints at such a possibility. The possibility of a former Aino occupation of the whole Loochoo group has also suggested itself to the mind of a modern Japanese investigator, Mr. Kada Tei-ichi, who adduces one place-name, Sonai (*nai* means "stream" in Aino), on the extreme Southern island of Yonakuni as a possible support to this view. But a solitary place-name of doubtful interpretation is a narrow foundation on which to build so wide a theory.

To return to our main subject, any original social inferiority that may distinguish the Loochooan peasantry from the upper classes would tend to be accentuated by a poor diet, consisting almost exclusively of sweet potatoes. In seasons of scarcity, recourse is had to an inferior kind of sago obtained from the *settsu* or *Cycas revoluta*, which grows freely all over the country, instead of being the delicate exotic which we see it in Japan. All sorts of stories are told of the unwholesomeness of this article of food:—that it fills without satisfying, that it gives bad breath, that people sometimes fall down dead after partaking of it, etc., etc. I incline to think, however, that the fault lies in imperfect preparation and in bad cooking, an opinion which the Abbé Ferrié confirmed.

The greatest curse of Loochoo is its snakes, which belong to the genus *Trimeresurus*, and are often 6 or 7 feet long and from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches in diameter. They are called *habu*, and their bite generally causes speedy death in tortments. They climb hedges and trees, to lie in wait for small birds; but if startled by a passer-by, they



will dart out at him. In Ōshima, where this plague is far more wide-spread than in any of the other islands, the *habu* even infest houses, making it dangerous to walk about at night without a light. Many deaths occur annually in Ōshima from snake-bites, and some people may be seen who, though not actually killed, have been crippled for life in this manner. Rewards at so much per head are consequently bestowed on those who bring in the carcasses of the hated reptiles. The *habu* are much less common in Great Loochoo, being practically restricted to the forests of the Northern half of the island.\*

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No country that I have ever visited shows scantier evidence of any active religious influence than Loochoo. One small and new Shintō temple, one old and tawdry Confucian temple—both at Nafa,—what is called a shrine of Kwannon, but might, for all appearances to the contrary, be a tea-shed, on the way from Nafa to Shuri, a tiny shrine of the goddess Benten near Shuri Castle; and two or three Buddhist temples at Shuri—one of them containing the tombs of the Kings,—such is the sum total of the religious edifices that I was able to discover, though I took long rambles about the country. By comparison with Loochoo, Japan seems a land of fervent piety, though it should be observed that Satsuma and Ōsumi, the provinces of Japan nearest to Loochoo, are also those which appear to be the least religious. The impression which I gained from further enquiries, was

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\* Only a day or two before this paper was read, I received a letter from the Abbé Ferrié dated 1st June, 1893, saying: "On rencontre déjà pas mal de *habu*. Nous avons eu cinq victimes à Nazé. Deux sont mortes quelques heures après avoir été piquées. Si on pouvait trouver le moyen de débarrasser le pays de ces vilains serpents, quel service on rendrait aux habitants!"

that matters had not always stood thus. Indeed one may infer from Captain Hall's account that the Buddhist priests were more numerous in his day than they are at present, though even in his day they were treated with contempt by the educated. I saw but five Buddhist priests in a whole month. The sole remaining public function of the priest seems to be to assist at funerals.

This marked religious indifferentism may be partly ascribed to Confucian influence, which has been more potent in Loochoo than even in Japan, both morally and politically. Though the language and the manner of life of the Loochooans, when carefully investigated, show unmistakable traces of relationship to the Japanese, still there lies on the surface a veneer of Chinese influence thicker than any that ever existed in Japan. This is natural enough, the smaller body offering less resistance than the larger to external pressure. The old Loochooan polity was a striking illustration of the yielding to Chinese influence, with its exaltation of the civil and depression of the military element. The Loochooan graves offer another, the use through centuries of the Chinese calendar another, the adornment of the porches of houses with Chinese moral and congratulatory sentences yet another, pig-eating (if I may again refer to it) yet another, perhaps piggishness yet another still,—for the Loochooans are dirty compared with the Japanese. Their greasy food, their terribly airless dwellings surrounded by high stone—or rather coral—walls, the absence of the Japanese bath, the unpleasant nature of other domestic arrangements,—all this marked inferiority in the matter of cleanliness points to the prevalence of Chinese influence. Of actual Chinese speech there is little, and never has been much. A few interpreters, specially trained at Nafa, were the only Loochooans who, in the old days of national independence, possessed a fair colloquial knowledge of that language. Even for the Chinese characters, the graceful Japanese hand known as *O-ie-ryū* has long been the

favourite one, and many of the Loochooan nobility pride themselves on being able to compose Japanese verses which the Japanese themselves allow to be excellent.

So completely has Loochoo been overshadowed by her two great neighbours, that her own language has remained uncared for. Every one of course speaks it and nothing but it, unless strangers be present; but it has been left uncultivated and for the most part unwritten, there being no native alphabet, and the Japanese syllabary being ill-suited to write the Loochooan language, which is richer in sounds than Japanese, distinguishing as it does between *ha* and *fa*, *tu* and *tsu*, *si* and *shi*, etc. Even under these disadvantageous circumstances the Japanese syllabary is sometimes employed, especially for writing poetry. Through the kindness of Mr. Nishi, mayor of Shuri and an enthusiastic antiquarian, I became the possessor of copies of two rare and curious manuscripts,—one a glossary of obsolete terms, the other of uncertain interpretation, but believed to consist of the liturgies recited by the virgin priestesses of royal birth who formerly presided over the royal tombs and the religious ceremonies connected therewith—an institution reminding one of the Imperial virgin priestesses of Ise.

Loochooan may be said to resemble Japanese in about the same degree as Italian does French. Though speakers of the two are mutually unintelligible, and though few Loochooan phrases, even when written down in Roman, would yield much sense to a European scholar however well-acquainted with the sister tongue, a little digging below the surface proves beyond shadow of doubt that the two *are* sister tongues. Sentences in the one can be translated into the other word for word, almost syllable for syllable. Many words are identical, others can be shown to differ only by letter-changes which follow certain fixed analogies, in other cases again either Japanese or Loochooan has retained

an archaic form. In others, especially in the verbal terminations, there is considerable divergence, though not greater than French and Italian show.

Just take one or two examples. The word *fiji* has an outlandish sound. What is it? It is the equivalent of the Japanese *hiye*, "beard." Reasons too lengthy to enter into here make it probable that the form of which both Japanese and Loochooan are modifications was *fiye* (with a hard *y*) or *fi-ke*. Loochooan has retained the initial *f* intact, Japanese has retained the final *e* intact, while both languages have modified the *y* in the middle, the Japanese—at any rate the natives of Tōkyō—pronouncing it like *ng*, while the Loochooans have turned it into a *j*. The following key will help to unlock the relationship of many words:—

Japanese	<i>k</i>	=	Loochooan	<i>ch</i>
„	<i>g</i>	=	„	<i>j</i>
„	<i>r</i>	=	„	<i>y</i>
			or is dropped altogether.	
„	<i>e</i>	=	Loochooan	<i>i</i>
„	<i>o</i>	=	„	<i>u</i>
„	<i>h</i> or <i>f</i>	=	„	<i>f</i> or <i>h</i>

For instance, the Japanese word *toki*, "time," is represented by *tuchi*; *miji*, "right," by *miji*; *kame*, "a tortoise," by *kāmi*; *no*, "of" by *nu*; *hiza* by *jisha*,—not in the Japanese sense of "knee," but in the more general sense of "leg," there being a different word for "knee" in Loochooan; *toru*, "to take," by *tuyung*, etc, etc. The bearing of these differences on Japanese philology is most instructive, the use of *y* for *r* and the use of forms like *nu*, "of" (instead of classical and modern Japanese *no*), carrying us back 1,200 or 1,300 years, while the *n* (or *ng*, as I should prefer to write it) which terminates the present tense of Loochooan verbs even in the Positive Voice, goes far towards supporting Mr. Aston's bold hypothesis to the effect that the true negative element in the Negative Voice of Japanese verbs is not the letter

*n*, as has been generally assumed as a matter of course, but the vowel *a* which precedes it. In Loochooan, the difference between Positive and Negative is expressed by a curious combination of vowel and consonantal changes, which have nothing whatever to do with the final *n* or *ny*. Thus :—

	Positive.		Negative.
Pres.	<i>tuyung</i> , I take	<i>turang</i> ,	I take not
Past	<i>tutany</i> , I took	<i>turangtang</i> ,	I took not

Pres.	<i>chichung</i> , I hear	<i>chikang</i> ,	I hear not
Past	<i>chichany</i> , I heard	<i>chikangtang</i> ,	I heard not

Most of the Japanese particles are represented in Loochooan by closely cognate forms. It strikes one, therefore, as singular to find neither *wo* nor *wa*. All the more interesting is it to discover that there exists a means of expressing the emphatic sense of *wa*, which recalls the declensions of words in European languages. The thing is done by changing the final vowel of the word, according to the following schedule :—

<i>a</i>	becomes	<i>ā</i>
<i>i</i>	„	<i>ē</i>
<i>u</i>	„	<i>ō</i>
<i>ny</i>	„	<i>nō</i>
long vowels add		<i>ya</i>

For instance the Japanese *kore*, “this,” is *kuri*; but *kore wa* is *kurē*; “tobacco” is *tabaku*, but the same word emphasised is *tabakō*; a “mosquito” is *gajang*; a mosquito emphasised is *gajanō*; a “tree” is *kē* (the same as in Japanese, but with a long *i* instead of a short one), but a tree emphasised—the Japanese *kī wa*—is *kī-ya*; a hill is *fira*, but a hill emphasised is *firā*. Verbs change in the same way. For instance *nindi* (= Jap. *nete*) means “sleeping;” but “sleeping” (with an emphasis, Jap. *nete wa*) is *nindē*. The long vowels in Loochooan are uttered with extraordinary length and em-

phasis. But this is scarcely the occasion for entering on details so technical. A proper discussion of the Loochooan language must be reserved for another time and place.

The Loochooans appear to learn Japanese with the same facility as the Koreans do. In the primary schools, Japanese is now taught as a special subject during the first year, after which time it is used as the vehicle of instruction in other subjects. But I was informed that the progress of the students is often unsatisfactory. How could it be otherwise? No sooner is the class dismissed, than Loochooan reigns supreme again in the playground and the home. Doubtless, however, in a few generations, Japanese will drive Loochooan out, as French is driving out Italian at Nice and Mentone.

Various reasons compel me to omit from this paper detailed mention of many matters which at the time seemed worth noting down. There is the Loochooan theatre, for instance—an institution full of interest to the Japanese specialist, on account of its unmistakable kinship to the early mediæval drama of Japan. There is the tattooing on the women's hands, which varies from island to island. Take again the little Loochooan ponies, only 10 or 10½ hands high, so that a European bestriding one has his feet well-nigh resting on the ground. Take Loochooan history, which, nothing daunted, carries back its readers over a period of 17,000 years! Take the rude ideographs invented by the islanders of Yonakuni, and the system of notched sticks by which, until recently, the village elders of most of the islands kept their accounts. The catalogue of things curious and interesting is endless.

Perhaps one of the most surprising features of Loochoo, seeing how close Loochoo lies to the tropics, is its non-tropical aspect. Things seem to have got reversed on this side of the world Up North in Yezo,

where all nature is snow and ice-bound for five months out of every year, the jungle is impenetrable, and the grass and giant weeds in summer are higher than a man on horseback. Japanese vegetation, though less rank than that of Yezo, nevertheless covers the hills with high grass and bamboos, through which it is no easy matter to force one's way. Loochoo carries the improvement further still. It has no high grass or tangled weeds, scarcely any bamboos, but fine short turf like that of Northern Europe; and the trees, too, are thinner and stand further apart, and there are many open fields and comparatively numerous domestic animals, and there is a general trim appearance which, both to Captain Basil Hall and to Commodore Perry—his successor in these waters—strongly recalled English scenery.

The roads, on the other hand, or rather the absence of roads, recalls China. There is indeed one excellent road leading from Nafa to Shuri, the capital, a distance which, according to the official distance-post is 1 *ri*, 11 *chō*, 26 *ken*, 2 feet, and 1 inch!—say  $3\frac{1}{4}$  miles. Practically there are no other roads in the country, the rest being mere paths or trails, in which coral crags stick up like pins and needles, so as to make walking anything but pleasant to a European. Yet along and up and down these dreadful torture-tracks, the little  $10\frac{1}{2}$  hand ponies clamber unshod, picking their way as skilfully as so many chamois.

So far as the character of the Loochooan people is concerned, there is complete unanimity among all observers, both European and Japanese, every one praising their docility, their courtesy, and their mildness. Many of the older men, in particular, have an expression of face which is half-winning, half-pathetic in its gentleness.

Over the gate leading to the Loochooan capital city of Shuri there hangs a board with these words: "*The Land of Propriety*,"\* this being an alternative name

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\* 守禮之邦.

bestowed on Loochoo by a certain Chinese Emperor in praise of the perfect manner in which his envoys found all official rites and ceremonies to be performed. The Loochooans are very proud of this title of their country. Nor is it mere ceremonial propriety or superficial politeness in which they excel. They commit scarcely any crimes. Perhaps it may be as well to give my authority for a statement so startling and so positive. My informants were the Prefect of Loochoo, Mr. Narabara, and the late Head of Police in the archipelago, Mr. Takeshita, who made good their assertion by producing statistics. Petty theft is the sole offence at all common. Neither, if the Loochooans do no violence to other people, are they ever, like the Japanese of former days, known to lay violent hands on themselves. Though they had a few wars, both civil and foreign, in ancient times—wars to which ruined castles here and there bear witness—they never were a military people, and for well-nigh three centuries no weapons have existed among them. The *samurai* of Loochoo were neither sword nor dirk. The old native government, as already stated, was founded on a purely civil basis, on the patriarchal theory of Confucius. In fact, Loochoo, notwithstanding some disagreeable stains on its moral character, was and is truly “the Land of Propriety” in certain fundamental respects—a land of courteousness, and peace and good order, and docility to the powers that be. I saw not a single beggar in the country, though the mass of the people work hard and the general standard of living is low. There is also no great luxury among the upper class.

It has sometimes been asserted, and again quite recently by the late Rev. Dr. Macgowan, whose opinion will justly bear weight with many, that the Loochooan women are overworked. From what I saw, I do not believe this to be the case. True, they do a share of field work, and they trudge to market with burdens on their



heads. But the heaviest portion of the field work, all work with horses, and in fact all the tougher manual labour, is undertaken by the men. No doubt those will find matter for blame in Loochoo whose tenet is that every woman should be a lady, living in an artificial world of otto of roses and cotton wool, and having everything done for her by her husband and her servants,—the husband being but a sort of upper servant, a major-domo who must attend to my lady's behests. This tends to become more and more the Western view of things, especially in America. To me it seems more natural and proper that each sex should bear its share of the burden of life ; and I agree with the philosophical author of *Japanese Girls and Women*,\* in holding that the reason why, here in the Orient, the women of the lower class hold a relatively higher place in the family than the ladies of the upper class, is precisely because their work earns for them a just title to consideration, and their practical experience makes their opinions worth listening to in the family council. Of course nothing seen in real life ever comes within measurable distance of the ideal. Yet occasionally last spring, when riding through Southern Loochoo, it seemed to me as if something very near the ideal of humble but contented family life were presented to my eyes in the persons of a sturdy peasant man and woman busily working in the fields,—their own fields, mind,—while the midday meal of sweet potatoes lay ready for them on the grass, and their baby croned and disported itself in a big basket under its mother's eye. It would be criminal to put into such a woman's head the notion that her husband was ill-treating her, simply because he expected her to do her share of work in the healthy open air.

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\* Miss A. M. Bacon.

And here I must conclude, craving the Society's indulgence for this very sketchy treatment of a wide subject, Loochoo being, as the foregoing remarks may serve in some measure to show, no semi-savage South Sea Island, but the seat of an ancient and highly complicated civilisation, to do justice to which would require a folio volume.



*"A book that is shut is but a block"* .

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